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Behind the MacArthur Row

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 23

THREE things make the White House statement on occupation policy in Japan less impressive than it would otherwise be. The first is the long delay in its publication. The document says, "The Japanese people, and the world at large, shall be kept fully informed of the objectives and policies of the occupation and of progress made in their fulfilment." This is important, if the stated objectives are to be realized. The publication of this basic directive in Japan would let democratic and working-class leadership there know that it was our policy "to use the existing form of government in Japan, not to support it"; that we favor changes in the form of that government designed to modify "its feudal and authoritarian tendencies"; that we are not committed to "support the Emperor or any other Japanese governmental authority in opposition to evolutionary changes looking toward the attainment" of those objectives; and that if force proves necessary against recalcitrant and reactionary elements the Allied Supreme Commander is authorized to intervene only where required to insure "the security of his forces and the attainment of all other objectives of the occupation."

An equally important purpose is served by publication of the document in this country: it provides the American people with a clear picture of our post-war program for Japan, a solid basis for judging the necessary duration and extent of occupation, "and a means of checking for ourselves whether MacArthur and his subordinates are or are not carrying out their instructions." Yet despite the pledge of full publicity, the document remained secret until an unusual set of circumstances made its release to the press necessary as a means of defending the State Department, the War Department, and the Administration against a burst of criticism in Congress. The principles embodied in the document were agreed upon by the State, War, and Navy departments and transmitted to MacArthur on August 29; the actual text of the document, after approval by the President, was sent to MacArthur by messenger on September 6. But it was not made public by the White House until September 22, and even then, from all indications, only reluctantly and under pressure from the State and War departments. We still do not know whether the document will be made public in Japan, although it says that "the Japanese people shall be kept fully informed."

To formulate fine principles on paper and forget about them in practice is becoming a characteristic of American occupa-

tion policy. German experience provides the second reason for being uneasy about our post-war plans for Japan. The basic directives on German occupation policy are still a secret, but the main outlines of our program are known. The policy laid down for Japan turns out to be much like that laid down for Germany. In Japan as in Germany we seek—in principle, at least—the elimination of war industry, the breaking up of the big monopolies, a wider distribution of ownership and income, encouragement of democratic forces, the elimination of ultra-nationalist and military elements.

Hardly a day passes without new evidence that similar directives are being sabotaged by the military occupation authorities in the Reich. Big American industrial and financial interests interlock with those of Germany as of Japan. Their influence, plus brass-hat mulishness, is enough to nullify the most specific directives. For Germany these are severe and thorough, but that has not kept them from being ignored. Even so conspicuous a malefactor as I. G. Farben is successfully evading the fate decreed for it. I have seen the secret General Order No. 2 on I. G. Farben, issued last July 5 by Military Government authorities. It is very drastic, but it is not being obeyed. Instead of being liquidated in accordance with that order, I. G. is being rebuilt. I am reliably informed that the services of its old American subsidiary, General Aniline and Film, are being enlisted to provide technicians for the reconstruction of the German parent company. Only last Friday the United Press reported from Frankfurt a press conference in which Colonel James Boyd, head of the United States Forces' Industry Branch, declared that I. G. Farben's war industries would be "switched" to peace-time output rather than destroyed. What is to prevent these facilities from being "switched" back again some day to war production? If this can happen in Germany, where the relationship of monopoly and militarism has been much more fully publicized, it can happen in Japan. If I. G. can thus save itself, so can Mitsui.

There is a third and more fundamental reason for not taking the White House program at face value. Its principles and purposes are sound, but the magnitude of the changes they require—and international security requires—in Japanese society calls for a military government of Japan. It takes little reflection to realize that we can hardly hope to break the power of Japan's ruling classes—the aristocracy, the plutocracy, the bureaucracy, and the military—if we confine ourselves to operating through a government which remains their

instrument. To do so is to leave in power the very elements we are pledged to eradicate; to leave these elements in position to reassume full control once the occupation is over. The Associated Press reports from Tokyo today, "Japanese prominently associated with the incipient liberal movement say opposition of these strongly entrenched groups already has handicapped attempts toward settlement of the problems of national livelihood as well as social reformation."

From what little I can learn here in this highly secret field of national policy, one faction in Washington, now the dominant faction in the State Department, favored a military government and had plans drawn up for such a government. The decision against a military government of Japan seems to have been made at Potsdam. This is puzzling. The British may well have opposed any drastic policy toward Japan, but it is hard to believe that the Russians did. I cannot find out why plans for a military government were dropped, but my hunch is that they were abandoned because our other Pacific allies—including the Russians—would have had to be represented at the top policy level. I think many in army-navy circles would prefer a soft peace for Japan to Russian participation in the fundamental decisions of the occupation.

Soviet-American relations are the fundamental factor in determining the future of Japan as of Germany. It is worth noting in this connection that Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy, top War Department official on German occupation policy, is also the department's representative on the State-War-Navy committee which frames the basic directives for Japan. McCloy has long been regarded in other branches of the government dealing with the Reich as a man who operates on the assumption that we need a strong Germany as a bulwark against the U. S. S. R. and communism. There are some who believe we need a strong Japan and a meek Korea for the same reason, and it is significant that Landon coupled criticism of the Morgenthau plan for Germany with his defense of MacArthur. In Congress and in the press the old pro-Axis and anti-Soviet crowd is taking advantage of the demand for faster demobilization to plead for softer treatment of both Germany and Japan.

The Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press and its friends in Congress are engaged in an attempt to identify advocacy of a hard peace for the Axis countries with communism; this would make "reds" of Wainwright, Chennault, Halsey, Devereaux, and the other military figures who have warned us against a soft peace with the Japanese. The most ludicrous effort in this field was Arthur Krock's attempt today to make it appear that criticism of MacArthur came chiefly from "the pink publications." One of "the pink publications" which have been criticizing MacArthur and insisting on action against "Japan's own special kind of big business, the great industrial and financial concerns of Japan," is Krock's own paper, the *New York Times* (see its leading editorial, headed *Cleaning Up Japan*, in the September 13 issue). The poor fellow seems to think he is writing for the *Chicago Tribune*.

The War Department is not above playing up to these reactionary elements. Last Tuesday, during the interminable debate going on in Congress over demobilization, Lemke of North Dakota told the House that one War Department official was reported to have said it was "all right to discharge the boys if you do not want as large an army as Russia." The

War Department's quarrel with MacArthur is not the same as the State Department's. The War Department is angry because MacArthur's sudden statement that he would need only 200,000 soldiers to police Japan upset its plea that occupation needs necessitated a slower rate of demobilization. The War Department is inclined to think of a large army in terms of power politics vis-a-vis the Soviet Union rather than as a means of preventing renewed German and Japanese aggression. The State Department's quarrel with MacArthur has a different basis. There Grew, Dooman, and the Japanophiles are out; Acheson and younger "China hands" are now in charge of Far Eastern policy. They see MacArthur's occupation policies and his talk of a short occupation with comparatively few troops as endangering the hope of a durable peace in the Far East. They are fighting for a complete change in

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

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"the present economic and social system of Japan, which makes for a will to war." It was for his courage in saying so that Acheson's confirmation as Under Secretary was held up in the Senate last Thursday. Who would have dreamed that within four years of Pearl Harbor a nominee for high office would be attacked in the Senate of the United States for advocating severe treatment of Japan?

Whatever success we achieve in preventing a renewal of Japanese aggression will depend on the patience and understanding of the American people. Unfortunately, army-navy clumsiness and inefficiency have created so much resentment against demobilization delays as to make it difficult reasonably to argue the need for considerable personnel and extended occupation in both Japan and Germany. The same papers and the same Congressmen who helped lull this country into a false feeling of security before Pearl Harbor are back at work on a repeat performance. MacArthur is playing to the old isolationist and crypto-fascist gallery. He is also playing to the human and understandable desire to "get the boys back" as quickly as possible: Congress is swamped with letters from home on the subject. The Axis thrived once before on democratic unwillingness to make some present sacrifice for the sake of future security, and can thrive on it again. Russell of Georgia, in an able and moving speech to the Senate Tuesday, introduced a resolution for the trial of Hirohito as a war criminal and sought to drive home the future consequences of a soft peace. But the Russells are being drowned out by the Rankins. And the Landons are ready to sacrifice national security to cheap politics. True, MacArthur today told Hugh Baillie of the United Press that Japan would never again be a world power or world menace. But in the fall of 1939 we were assured by as high a military authority that the Philippines were in no danger of attack from Japan. That was Douglas MacArthur, too.

The Shape of Things

IF A DISPATCH BY RAYMOND DANIELL IN THE New York Times last Friday was accurate, then General Patton should be court-martialed. If it was inaccurate, the Times correspondent should be fired; but Mr. Daniell is known as an extremely cautious, meticulous observer. He reported from Wiesbaden, Germany, "a general opposition" on the part of Military Government officers "to the denazification program and a lackadaisical attitude toward its enforcement." And he quoted a "reported remark" of General George S. Patton, Jr., when the general was told that a certain German business man should not be employed because his questionnaire or "Fragenbogen" showed that he had been a member of the Nazi Elite Guard. "What the hell's a Fragenbogen?" shouted the general. "Listen—if you need these men, keep them and don't worry about anything else." It may well be that General Patton never heard of President Roosevelt's pledge to "destroy the fascist tyranny," but it is hard to believe that he missed the explicit instructions of General Eisenhower, issued on July 20 in Berlin. The General of the Army, confronted with evidence from all over the American zone that the

Military Government was using Nazis for administrative jobs, large and small, gave flat orders to eliminate Nazis and militarists from all offices and positions of importance in quasi-public and private enterprises. In the light of these orders, General Patton's attitude is one of open insubordination, while the situation it reveals is rapidly developing into a scandal that makes nonsense of all our talk about democracy—and of the war itself. Next week in *The Nation* Saul K. Padover will discuss in documented detail the problem of American military government in Germany.

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WHILE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN FINANCIAL TALKS continue without visible progress, the British government has begun to take steps to reduce imports which must be paid for in dollars. Contracts for Lend-Lease goods amounting to \$1,500,000,000 on V-J Day have been cut in half by canceling orders for tobacco, raw materials, and manufactured goods. This means more "austerity" for the British consumer but is also bad news for the American farmer, for it implies cultivation by Britain of alternative sources of supply of such commodities as cotton, huge surpluses of which already exist in this country. Administration experts who are conducting the negotiations with Lords Halifax and Keynes understand fully the basic facts of Britain's plight. They know that if we do not help it to its feet, it will have to renounce the ideal of unrestricted international trade or face starvation. But the Administration is timid about putting the facts before the country. It fears that isolationists and Anglophobes, in Congress and elsewhere, will damn any realistic solution to the problem by saying that Uncle Sam is being asked to play Santa Claus for the benefit of British Socialism. Washington's hope, therefore, is to fix up a scheme that will appear tough—a big loan at a commercial rate of interest, for instance—and leave the demonstration of its unworkability to time. The British, however, seem reluctant to cooperate in this deception. They have taken a stand against incurring liabilities they know they will not be able to meet. Rather than that, they will tighten their belts until they can reorganize their trade on a barter basis. If we force them to adopt this alternative, we can say goodby to our hopes of an expanding world market for American surpluses.

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PROSPECTS FOR SOLVING THE INDIAN PROBLEM were notably advanced by Prime Minister Attlee's and Viceroy Wavell's recent announcements of prompt measures for assuring self-government. After provincial and central elections are held this winter, His Majesty's (Socialist) Government will hold discussions with representatives of the provincial legislative assemblies to ascertain whether the Cripps proposals "are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable." A Constituent Assembly will then be convened to frame a new constitution. The unfortunate aspect of the elections, of which there is implicit recognition in Wavell's message, is that under the present constitution only a fraction of the population can vote. In 1937, in the last elections for the provincial legislatures, literacy and high property qualifications allowed only about one-fourth of the total adult population to vote. Attlee made it

clear in his message that the purpose and intention of the Cripps proposals, which offered India ultimate dominion status, are embodied in the new offer, which similarly envisages "negotiation of a treaty between the British government and the constitution-making body." He stated further that the present government is giving immediate consideration to the contents of such a treaty and that it "shall not seek to provide for anything incompatible with the interests of India." We hope that Indian nationalists, despite the bitter disappointments they have suffered at the hands of previous governments, will not put upon Attlee the onus of his predecessors' crimes. But first reports from India show that they are suspicious of the new plan. The Congress Working Committee is now convening for the first time since 1942. We hope that it decides to use the new offer to India's best advantage. Only a Britain determined to overhaul its own pattern of national economy can afford to give India freedom: We do not doubt that that is the intention of the Labor government.

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THE CHUNGKING-YENAN NEGOTIATIONS ARE expected to end shortly in a partial accord. This will be widely hailed as a diplomatic triumph for Ambassador Hurley, who has remained in China to supervise the negotiations personally. Actually, the results are disappointing. The settlement envisioned at the time of the Sino-Soviet pact has not materialized. According to the *Ta Kung Pao*, China's leading newspaper, the Chungking government has agreed to recognize the legal status of all political parties, including the Communist, in advance of summoning the National Assembly, thus making it possible for minority groups to gain some representation in that body. Chungking is also said to be willing to call a conference of representatives of all political and non-partisan groups to work out a satisfactory plan for the participation in the government of "all parties and groups." While these are hopeful steps in the direction of a more democratic regime in Chungking, the protracted negotiations between Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek have apparently failed on the essential issues of control of the armed forces and local government reforms, including tax and land reforms. Since the source of political power in China rests with the armed forces rather than the Cabinet or any other constitutional political agency, the Communists have insisted on a more democratic system of military control as a condition for placing their military forces under the direct command of the central government. Until an agreement can be worked out on this issue there can be no basic political settlement and the danger of civil war will persist even though both sides clearly wish to avoid it.

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REPORTS THAT GENERAL HURLEY WILL RESIGN as ambassador to China provide a ray of hope in the otherwise clouded prospects for Chinese unity. Although Hurley may claim credit for having helped to achieve the limited Kuomintang-Communist agreement, his record on the whole has been a negative one, both with respect to promoting harmony in China and to pursuing unified American policy. It will be recalled that when Hurley arrived in Chungking at the end of last year, the prospects of funda-

mental Kuomintang-Communist accord were brighter than they had been at any other period. But he quickly alienated the Communists by throwing his support to the Kuomintang and thus stood in the way of an effective war-time coalition. This policy brought Hurley into sharp conflict both with the State Department and the foreign-service officers attached to his embassy. He retaliated by weeding out experienced China personnel not only from his staff but from all government agencies in China, including the army. All dispatches from foreign-service officers to the State Department were subjected to rigorous censorship by the ambassador, thus cutting Washington off from unbiased information from China at one of the most critical periods in history. It is to be hoped that a new ambassador will be chosen who is capable of unifying American policy and of exercising impartial judgment in dealing with the various Chinese factions.

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THE BELL TOLLED FOR PERON LAST WEEK WHEN about 500,000 Argentines turned out for the "March of Constitution and of Freedom" in Buenos Aires. "God Bless America" was the song they sang most often and applauded most loudly; the popular refrain, "We want no dictatorships or military governments, either," ran a close second. And through it all there were almost incessant cries of "Death to Perón." Men and women of all classes and political beliefs surged forward together in a united front plebiscite demanding Perón's downfall. There at the rally about 100,000 more people were present than voted in the 1940 elections in Buenos Aires. The Argentine people have spoken. But the colonel—who should have been a house painter—won't let go. Faced with the classic dilemma of a dictator's last days, he must either grant concessions or increase repressions; either course will only strengthen the resistance. This is the seesaw of disaster Perón has been riding the past few months. Meanwhile his fantasy life is filled with dreams of being elected President in the long-forthcoming elections. Their date has been not yet been set. Because of last week's events Perón may delay his expected withdrawal from the government in order to announce his candidacy openly. Moreover; a general strike said to be in the offing is further complicating life for the Argentine dictator; and when it comes he will have no road back.

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THE BRITISH CABINET'S REPORTED STAND ON Palestine is inexplicable unless viewed in the light of the current power conflicts in the Near East and the Mediterranean area. The recent indication that the Arab League will resist Russia's claims to expanded influence in the Mediterranean provides some clue to what appears to be a betrayal of principles long voiced by leading Labor Party members. But no considerations of imperial interest can justify the retention of the iniquitous White Paper—with certain modifications—as a handbook to British Palestine policy. Such a decision would amount to embracing the worst cynicism of Mr. Chamberlain's administration and at the very moment when the Jewish people are in their most desperate plight. Today there are still alive in Hitler's charnel houses some 60,000 Jews whom the United Nations military authorities are unable to release because they have no place to go. The pro-

posed British solution of granting 1,500 visas a month would mean that three and a half years would elapse before the last of this group was rescued—how many would survive that long is hard to say. To a people which in six years has lost almost 6,000,000 out of 8,000,000 to Nazi blood lust Palestine represents justice and security. It is the one country to which the remaining Jews of Europe want to go; it is the one country that will willingly receive them. President Truman's demand, therefore, that the British government open the doors of Palestine to 100,000 Jews will receive the full support of the American people and, we suspect, of the great mass of British people as well. That request—and not the White Paper—must become the basis of an interim policy to meet the desperate situation existing today. But the long-term solution should not wait. The British proposal that the question be referred to the United Nations Organization makes sense provided that it is not simply a means of stalling. The Jewish Commonwealth is guaranteed by international agreement; it represents a solemn pledge embodied in the Balfour declaration; under the United Nations, and with the minimum of delay, it should become a reality.

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L. C. AKINS, A YOUNG NEGRO, IS SENTENCED TO die on October 6. The case was fully analyzed by George Clifton Edwards, an attorney of Dallas, Texas, in *The Nation* of September 15. The facts presented made it evident that had Akins been white he probably would not have been indicted—certainly he would not have been indicted on a charge of murder with malice. And if he had been brought to trial it is unthinkable that he would have been convicted. The report shows that a white man was killed in a fight with Akins. The white man, a policeman off duty, had attacked Akins as he was boarding a street car, accusing him of having jostled his wife. The policeman wounded Akins with his gun; later Akins secured the gun and shot his assailant. With the exception of one eighty-year-old and almost illiterate Negro—included to meet the technical requirement of "non-discrimination"—the grand jury was entirely white. The trial jury, witnesses, judge, court officials, prosecution were all white. Akins's fate rests in the hands of the Texas Board of Pardons and Paroles. Telegrams should be directed to its chairman, Elster M. Haile, State Capitol, Austin, Texas. There is still a chance that the awakened public conscience, Southern as well as Northern, will save a man's life and remove a stain from the annals of American justice.

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IN REJECTING A STANDARD JOBLESS BENEFIT of \$25 a week and voting to return the federal employment offices to the states, the Senate struck a body blow at the prospects for orderly reconversion. Of the two actions the dissolution of the U. S. E. S. promises to cause the most severe headaches in the immediate future. A system of centralized, coordinated employment offices will be urgently needed in the reconversion period. Millions of workers have left their home communities and scattered through the country to do war work. Their employment in peace-time industry will necessitate a new migration, not merely a return to former homes. To achieve this, the employment offices must

be equipped with a detailed knowledge of job prospects in all parts of the country, knowledge that can only be acquired and classified by a federal service. Furthermore, most of the state employment offices were so inefficient before the war as a result of political nepotism that they were bypassed by employers and employees alike. Yet the political forces which corrupted the state employment offices proved strong enough, in a Senate showdown, to destroy the relatively efficient U. S. E. S. at the moment it was most needed. These same political machines, entrenched in the state bureaucracy, undoubtedly played an important role in bringing about the rejection of President Truman's plea for a uniform jobless benefit. Since business prospects in the post-reconversion period are seriously jeopardized by both Senate actions, it is to be hoped that progressive business interests will join labor and citizen groups in pressing for a reversal in the House, where state political pressures are not so readily concentrated.

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ON JUNE 18 IN THE FATEFUL SUMMER OF 1940, two men on opposite sides of the Atlantic made crucial speeches. One said: "If we stand up to him, all Europe may be freed and the life of the world move forward into broad sunlit meadows; but if we fail, the whole world, including the United States and all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new dark age made more sinister and perhaps more prolonged by the lights of a perverted science." The other said: "The United States today faces probably the greatest crisis in its history. Not only our own safety but the continuance of the kind of world which we have been trying to create and the methods of freedom and self-government which have been ours since the foundation of our nation are at stake." Winston Churchill was reporting to the British people on Dunkirk and outlining plans for defense against invasion. Henry Stimson was urging that the United States give full support to England and at once institute universal military training. On the following day President Roosevelt appointed Henry Stimson Secretary of War. Probably no Cabinet member, perhaps not President Roosevelt himself, better understood the true nature and menace of fascism. In January, 1939, Mr. Stimson had written a letter to Secretary Hull urging that the embargo on arms to Republican Spain be lifted. Three months later, in a letter to the *New York Times*, he protested against our continuing isolationist policy, insisting that "in succession the attacks upon Manchuria, North China, South China, Ethiopia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, have shown us the error of likening modern fascism to a domestic system with which most of the world can live in peace." His own contribution to the military destruction of fascism was great. His successor, Robert Patterson, has proved his competence as Assistant Secretary. It is to be hoped that he will carry over his former chief's awareness of those forces that menace the life of the free peoples of the world.

IN NEXT WEEK'S *NATION*

SAUL K. PADOVER on
American Military Government in Germany

What the London Conference Reveals

BY ALL American reports, London is a city of diplomatic gloom. Only the delegation from Moscow seems to be deriving any satisfaction from the proceedings of the Council of Foreign Ministers; and its complacency obviously doesn't lift the spirits of the capitalist press. There are reasons for concern in the difficulties of the conference itself, but perhaps the unmitigated quality of the correspondents' pessimism is primarily due to their exclusion from authentic news. In any event, we do not share their shocked surprise at the turn the meeting is taking.

The dispatches speak as if the conference had revealed conflicts between the Soviets and the Anglo-American partnership. In reality it has only defined them. Everyone knew that the Soviet Union intended to be the strongest external influence in the Balkans; everyone knew that it meant to have a voice in the disposal of the Italian colonies both in the neighborhood of the Dardanelles and in Africa; everyone knew that it was supporting the Yugoslav demand for Trieste. The claims to a port on the Red Sea and to the administration under United Nations mandate of Tripolitania and possibly Eritrea are only specific and concrete expressions of a general determination to play the role of a super-power and enjoy its perquisites. Some of these demands may be dropped when the major point of free use of the Dardanelles has been conceded, but we should not bank on it.

No one should have been taken by surprise or disillusioned except those who, idealizing the government of Stalin and Molotov, expected it to play a utopian part in international affairs. This was hardly the case with the emissaries of the sophisticated American press. But one depressing factor may have been the continued contrast between Soviet competence and American floundering in the art of diplomacy. Certainly it was too bad that the shift in policy from individual to international administration of the former Italian colonies should have come at the conference itself, for this not only revealed some instability, but also gave the delegation an air of clumsy trickiness.

The fact is that, while the conference couldn't by any stretch of the imagination be called a happy field-day for Anglo-American diplomacy, it was a necessary and useful step toward peace settlements in the Mediterranean and the Balkans. The Foreign Ministers cannot draft a treaty. At best they can only mark out broad lines of agreement and leave the details to be filled in by experts. It is true that the press reports reflect more conflict than agreement; but nothing like the full record is yet available, and in any event it is well to have the differences clearly stated at the earliest possible stage in negotiations. The fact that the Russians are taking positions opposed to those of the United States and Britain does not mean that they have won theirs or that we have lost ours.

The basic conflict is between the Russian way of life and government and ours. Both ways label themselves

democracy, but there are profound differences, and both are trying to spread themselves in the world. So long as this is so, there will be perpetual difficulty in establishing compromises short of violence.

Meanwhile, London last week produced one sinister omen which seems to have escaped notice. While the Foreign Ministers were meeting, the executive committee of the United Nations was also in session. In it raged another hard-fought battle—this one over the dates and agenda for the first meetings of the General Assembly. But the progress it was making towards implementation of the San Francisco Charter was pushed into obscure back columns by the concurrent bickerings of the Big Five. So long as there continue to be supreme councils of three or five powers, so long will it be impossible for the United Nations to win and hold the prestige and authority which alone can render it an effective security system. The small states, in demanding more consultation, are fighting a battle not only for themselves but for the principle of dealing with world problems in a world organization rather than in small conclaves. If the conclaves are permanent, as they purport to be, there will be too many rings in the international circus.

Words and Deeds

MR. TRUMAN'S actions and Mr. Truman's words are not altogether in accord. Philip Murray of the C. I. O. told a New York labor delegation to Washington that three of the leading measures called for in the President's message of September 6 "are threatened by lack of any organized support by the Administration or its supporters inside or outside of Congress." He referred to the full-employment bill, the unemployment-compensation bill, and the 65-cent minimum-wage bill. Murray spoke with restraint when he said that the Administration and Democratic Party leadership had not "shown sufficient exertion" on these measures. The White House did intervene to win Carville of Nevada for the full-employment bill, which was voted out of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee by thirteen to seven. Other Democratic waverers who voted with Carville for the bill were Bankhead of Alabama and Fulbright of Arkansas; Radcliffe of Maryland was the only Democrat who finally went with the Taft leadership against the bill. Two Republicans, Tobey of New Hampshire and Butler of Ohio, joined the majority in favor. But no such last-minute pressure was in evidence in the fight over unemployment compensation; leadership finally fell to La Follette, and Guffey stood alone in submitting a courageous minority report against the emasculated bill as it was submitted to the Senate.

But it is not in Congress alone that Mr. Truman has left an unpleasant impression. The hasty, unkind, unjustified, and cowardly way in which William H. Davis was dismissed as Director of Economic Stabilization does not speak well for the President. The affair seems to have been precipitated by the new Secretary of Labor, Schwelienbach, who went running to the White House in a kind of hysteria and blamed Davis for the strike situation. Davis was the victim of some

bad reporting in the New York *Herald Tribune* and of some dishonest rewriting in the New York *Times*. Some remarks made at a background press conference by Davis on September 4 were misinterpreted by the former to mean that "the government has undertaken a program to raise the real wages of every worker in this country from 40 to 50 per cent as rapidly as possible." The *Times* rewrote the opening paragraph of a United Press dispatch on the conference to provide a similar misinterpretation, although its own respected veteran labor reporter, Louis Stark, was present at the Davis interview and filed no such story. The *Wall Street Journal*, which had had an accurate account from its own reporter, also preferred the misinterpretation and published an editorial declaring, "Davis Must Go." Raymond Moley, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and others joined in, and soon the pack was in full cry. They threw Schwellenbach and Truman into a panic.

There is reason to believe that a good part of the campaign against Davis was whipped up by manufacturers of automobiles and other durable goods, who saw him as an obstacle to higher prices. That they succeeded so well is a sour commentary on the state of the Administration's nerves. It happens that the misinterpretation of what Davis said grew out of his indorsement of a remark made by Secretary of the Treasury Vinson in his final report as Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion. The report declared that the country faced "the pleasant predicament" of increasing its standard of living by 50 per cent. But that has been said in one form or another by many government economists and officials, who recognize that only a 50 per cent rise in living standards can make it possible fully to employ productive

facilities expanded 50 per cent by the war. And Truman himself, in his message to Congress, has accepted the view that in order to move toward an increase in living standards, prices should be held while wages wherever possible should be allowed to rise. The President seems to be willing to accept the theory but to balk at its practical application, for that is politically painful.

A tendency to take the line of least resistance and to give in to business pressures seems apparent in the higher levels of the Administration. An outstanding example was provided by the order of Reconversion Director John W. Snyder lifting price controls on housing. The six-point program Snyder promises as replacement is not impressive, least of all the pledge of stronger WPB inventory controls to prevent hoarding of building materials. The laxity of inventory control by WPB is notorious, and since the WPB is being disbanded and its vestigial functions handed over to Snyder's small staff there is even less likelihood of effective supervision. On the contrary, Snyder's weakness in giving in to the greedy real-estate lobby and Truman's weakness in giving in to the anti-Davis campaign in press and radio will encourage inflationary business forces to intensify their efforts. Their next target will undoubtedly be Chester Bowles, head of the OPA, who has shown admirable bravery in the government's hottest job. His recent speech before the National Industrial Conference Board in New York will not make him more popular with the grab boys. If Bowles follows Davis into retirement, consumers will be mulcted and hope of a stable recovery blasted by a short and sharp inflationary boom, followed by a deflationary tailspin.

Post-Atomic National Defense

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

RECENT pronouncements from Washington and other centers of the higher thinking have left this observer with the dazed feeling that perhaps the atomic bomb was never dropped on Hiroshima at all but was only a horrible figment of our imaginations or a propaganda device to excuse the undignified exit of the Japanese from the war. The nation's political and military leaders, apparently with straight faces, are advancing plans for the future which seem largely to ignore the most revolutionary technological event since the invention of the steam engine. Policy-makers both here and abroad continue their old, tired talk of big navies, big armies, spheres of influence, colonial administrations, and strictly national control of forces which have burst out into the whole domain of the world. (The two generals who were at the head of the project that produced the atomic bomb have, as one might expect, a different point of view. At a War Department press conference on September 19 Major General Leslie Groves and Brigadier General Thomas F. Farrell declared that there is "no conceivable defense" against atomic bombs except to hit your enemy with them before he hits you.) Only occasionally is a public toe

dabbled in the icy and forbidding waters of the atomic age, to be hastily withdrawn again to the familiar but—shall we say?—somewhat shifting sands of the old era, where national boundaries could still be discerned.

We have been living in the atomic age for six weeks now. It is time to take a deep breath and plunge into the strange ocean where time and space are so inextricably mixed.

Item: The navy requests post-war appropriations to maintain a fleet equal to the combined present fleets of the world. The atomic bomb is not mentioned.

Item: In defense of this request Secretary Forrester explains that we need a great navy because airplanes must drop the atomic bomb—which he mentions by name—airplanes can best be stopped far from our borders, and the fleet can best do this stopping.

Item: Admiral McCain's almost-last words, "Give me the fast carrier force and you can have the atomic bomb."

Item: The navy demands that we keep a chain of the major bases we have won in the Pacific, from the Aleutians through the Ryukyus to the Solomons; it makes obvious eyes at an extended chain of bases in the Atlantic.

Item: The army is reported to be still in favor of universal military training.

Item: President Truman proposes control of atomic energy by having the United States government own all uranium-producing ore deposits in the country.

Item: The Council of Foreign Ministers squabbles over who gets the old Italian colonies, and otherwise talks in terms which are even pre-San Francisco.

This is the sort of talk we might logically have expected before the early morning event at Hiroshima. I submit we have grounds to hear something a little more imaginative, a little more realistic, a little more enlightened, after that event—some statement urging a drastic revision of the United Nations organization to make it a world federation of states, to place military power entirely under the control of the central world authority, to substitute the rule of law for the un-rule of national sovereignties clashing in the twentieth-century jungle.

Meanwhile, it is important—though clearly of secondary importance—to discuss and decide upon an interim national-defense policy. For it is clear that we shall not see any major checks put on national sovereignty tomorrow, or next week; it is clear that until we have these checks we must have a national-defense policy; and it is becoming increasingly clear that if citizens do not take a loud and vocal interest in the shaping of this policy, we shall have foisted upon us an anachronistic policy that is positively damaging to the prospects of any future reorganization of the world along lines which will meet the challenge of the atomic age.

Available historical evidence suggests that the most dangerous thing which can happen to a national-defense policy is for the nation to win a war. The defensive outstripped the offensive in the last war; so France and England and the United States planned for another war in which the defensive alone could win. Germany, having lost, simply devised new means of taking the offensive. The items listed above lend weight to the unhappy rule of history. Having won this war after a hard struggle to train troops, many hard fights to seize outlying bases, and employment of a powerful fleet and a great air arm arduously developed, our military leaders are planning to win the next war more easily by having trained reserves, outlying bases, a powerful fleet, and a great air arm all ready for use.

The military employment of atomic fission developed by a few long-haired scientists is dismissed as readily as were the tank and the airplane after 1918.

If our present course is followed, it will prove even more dangerous than our course after 1918. We cannot again expect to use countries across the oceans as buffer states: we would be the first target for any future aggressor with big ideas. The weapons of the future will make us an easy target. Our current mode of military thinking, if continued, will invite attack. Building a large armed force around the weapons and tactical concepts of the recent war is a positive peril in that it tends to discourage research and the development of new weapons and tactics, defensive as well as offensive. This will be recognized and taken advantage of by any potential aggressor, who must plan in terms of the new weapons in order to be successful. New techniques of war, already developed in primitive form and bound to be

much more highly developed under the world's accelerating technology, will center in atomic explosives, rocket propulsion, radar, and aerodynamics. It is probable that the chief offensive weapon of the future will be a rocket-propelled pilotless aircraft, loaded with an atom-disintegrating warhead, and guided to its target by radar.

This is, unhappily, anything but fanciful. The scientists can do it, if the military men will let them. Already the United States Army Air Forces have in their possession a rocket drawn to its target by heat, light, or metal in the target area, a bomb guided by television from a plane fifteen miles away from the target, and a bomber with a range of 5,000 miles. The Germans in another six months might have produced a rocket bomb to cross the Atlantic in seventeen minutes. Any nation with competent scientists and adequate material and industrial resources can develop these techniques, as it can develop the atom-splitting technique. Consequently the advantage in another war would go to the nation which pushed its buttons first, launching the long-range explosives in a barrage against the chief cities and industrial centers of its antagonist. Such an initial advantage would be quickly followed up by the air-borne delivery of mechanized ground forces, to seize the key positions left intact.

In these circumstances, the present squabble over outlying bases will seem childish. A large navy would be an interesting target, although the aggressor might simply choose to ignore it. A conscript army could hardly be assembled, and if assembled would hardly find a place where it could fight to any good purpose—I hasten to withdraw my argument in favor of universal military training, advanced in these columns some months ago.

What, then, is needed for our interim national-defense policy? Obviously the drawbacks to our present policy, and the advantages of an alternate policy, can only be suggested in this short article. But it would seem that we must explore very seriously the possibility of unifying our uncoordinated and jealous services into a single Department of National Defense, with under secretaries for the army, navy, and air forces, and perhaps a separate under secretary for research; that we must give every aid to government-controlled research and development of new techniques, weapons, and tactics; that we must establish a national intelligence and information service of sufficient scope to find out and make available the best data on military, scientific, and economic activities in other countries as well as in our own; and that we must facilitate the promotion to responsible commands of the most energetic, talented, and imaginative officers in all branches of the armed forces.

These are not objectives which are likely to be accomplished—or embraced—by senior officers and officials who have just won a war with obsolescent techniques. "This is a big job for big minds," Hanson Baldwin suggests:

It should be undertaken by the leading citizens of the nation, organized in a commission appointed by the President and/or the Congress. This commission should have technical advisers from the military services and other branches of government, but it should be civilian in composition. . . . It should have full access to the facts of the technological revolution in war. Its comprehensive

studies should embrace all aspects of our post-war national-defense problem and should correlate defense policies with foreign policies.

Such a commission could do much to clarify our present confused situation. Unless the situation is clarified, we are likely to find ourselves supporting at great expense an inade-

quate national-defense policy which would lull us into a sense of false security and which might so mislead us concerning the horror and devastation of another war as to render us less insistent in our demand for an organization of world society which could effectively keep the peace and obviate the need for any national-defense policy.

The Prisoners We Forgot

BY ANDREW ROTH

(Author of "Dilemma in Japan")

WHEN the capitulation of Japan became a reality I began searching the newspapers avidly for news about two groups of prisoners. I was heartened and thrilled to read of the quick succor brought to the first group, American prisoners of war, by the "mercy teams" that parachuted into enemy-held areas and the ships that braved the mined waters. It was a stirring story of American sympathy, ingenuity, and daring. But I noted with increasing alarm that the second group of prisoners was apparently being forgotten, with sickening callousness and typical political myopia. They too had fought the Japanese militarists. They too had been beaten, starved, and fiendishly tortured. Most of them had spent many more years in filthy prisons than the heroes of Bataan, for their war had begun long before December 7, 1941. This second group comprised the political prisoners, the thousands of Japanese democrats, liberals, and leftists who had dared to fight the ruling clique and its ruthless police.

These Japanese political prisoners merit our profound consideration. First of all, they took frightening risks in the fight against military fascism and thus deserve at least the same recognition and assistance as the valiant fighters of the anti-Nazi underground in Europe. But even more important is the fact that the pressing and fundamental task of eliminating the roots of Japanese aggression will be immeasurably more difficult without the cooperation of the experienced and trustworthy anti-fascist leaders who have been imprisoned during the last twenty years.

The liberal press has voiced a good deal of criticism of General MacArthur's reliance upon the authoritarian bureaucrats, the *Zaibatsu*, the court aristocracy, the Emperor, and even sections of the Japanese military. But altogether too little emphasis has been placed on the existence of anti-militarist leaders to whom the Allies should turn and who thus far have been almost entirely neglected. The present situation in Japan urgently requires an anti-fascist coalition of all groups interested in a democratic political and economic renovation—liberal intellectuals, feminists, Christian humanists, peasants, industrial workers, small business men. Only such a coalition is capable of organizing a movement broad enough to carry through the requisite reforms in industry, agriculture, and government. The leadership of these groups has been decimated by four great waves of arrests—one in the late twenties, one in the early thirties, another in 1937-38, and a major raid on Pearl Harbor Day.

Many have been slaughtered by their jailers, but it is conservatively estimated that more than forty thousand of these political offenders are still in prison.

It is particularly interesting to study the wave of repression which marked the winter of 1937-38. At that time about five hundred of the outstanding political, intellectual, and labor leaders who were still at liberty were arrested in an attempt to break up an anti-war and anti-fascist "popular-front" coalition then in process of formation. Among them were noted university professors and writers, members of the Diet and of the local assemblies, some of the more aggressive members of the Social Mass Party, and virtually the entire leadership of the militant National Council of Trade Unions and of the Proletarian Party, which were summarily dissolved. The most important person arrested was Kanju Kato, a leader of both the last-named organizations. A newspaperman and trade unionist of broad experience, Kato was serving his second term in the Diet, to which he had just been elected from a working-class constituency in Tokyo with the largest majority of any candidate in the country. He and the handful of other members of the Proletarian Party in the Diet were sharp thorns in the side of the Konoye government, for they exploited all their very limited opportunities to voice their anti-war sentiments. With Kato were arrested Shigeo Tsubaki, municipal assemblyman from Osaka, Toshio Kurota and Shikaji Shigei, members of the Diet, and Mosaburo Suzuki, former Tokyo assemblyman. Kanju Kato was released from prison, apparently in 1943, on the promise that he would not participate in political activities, but was rearrested last fall and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The police probably held him partly responsible for the increasing unrest in labor circles, unrest which was sparked by the underground Proletarian and Communist parties.

The industrial plants are the most important breeding grounds in Japan for anti-fascist leaders, and after them come the universities. Every resurgence of democratic or leftist political activity has won recruits among the university students and faculties, despite the extreme penalties for "dangerous thoughts." And every new wave of arrests has deprived the universities of their most courageous and independent thinkers. In the winter of 1937-38 Professor Ouchi of Tokyo Imperial University, author of the well-known "General Outline of Japanese Economics," was arrested with two of his colleagues, Assistant Professors

Arisawa and Kakimura; as were Professor Minobe of Hosei University, son of the noted constitutional authority, and Professors Minimi and Abe of the same institution. Kyushu Imperial University and Waseda were also raided by the dreaded *Tokko-ka*, or secret political police.

Japan, like Spain and other countries in which women



Hirohito

suffer feudal subjection, has produced a courageous group of women leaders, many of whom are still in prison. The police have recognized their contribution to the anti-militarist cause by devising special torture instruments for their women prisoners. The Japanese woman leader who is probably best known in this country is Baroness Ishimoto, a courageous and lovely noblewoman who braved the bitter denunciations of the

press and the scorn of her own class to lecture and write in favor of democratic rights for women and birth control. She too was arrested in the popular-front arrests of 1937-38, but she was subsequently released to the custody of her family. The police were less considerate of the more militant and not so well-born Sadayo Orimoto, a charming, musical-voiced young woman who attempted to raise the standards of workingwomen by organizing them, forming labor schools, and leading the famous strike of the Tokyo Mousseline Company. Shortly after this strike, in which the rebellious factory girls were forced to battle both the police and the thugs of the jingoist societies, Sadayo Orimoto disappeared, and after considerable investigation it was discovered that she had been arrested by the police as a dangerous enemy of the state. So far as is known, she has remained in prison to this day, although she was arrested more than a dozen years ago.

At the time of Japan's capitulation the walls of its filthy prisons contained many types of political prisoners with many different beliefs. Some were the scions of wealthy and aristocratic families; some were undernourished, semi-literate peasants and workers; Their "crimes" were as old as opposition to the oppressive acts of the Japanese oligarchy in the odious reign of the infamous Baron Tanaka and as recent as agitation against the "transition-to-peace" government of Admiral Suzuki.

We have a tremendous stake in these prisoners. Without them we must rely on the deceitful words and slippery deeds of the fawning opportunists that come crawling to the American authorities. With them we shall be better able to ferret out the war criminals and their collaborators and pin to the wall the men who are planning a resurgence of military fascism in Japan. Some of the prisoners have the education and training to serve as editors, administrators, and teachers; others are fitted to organize mass support for the political, social, and economic reforms required to eliminate the roots of aggression in Japan. The American

program for Japan, as made public by President Truman on September 22, called for the freeing of political prisoners, but as yet nothing has been done.

The release of these men and women will have a tremendous effect on the population. It will be a clear indication that we are not the willing dupes of the surviving members of the oligarchy, with whom we have so far dealt. The people of Japan will begin to *believe* that we really intend to strengthen democratic trends—as we promised at Potsdam—when their champions of democracy are set free and are accorded the sympathy and support they so richly deserve. Then those who want to speak for democracy will not be silenced by the memory of those who spoke out before and were jailed and forgotten. Americans interested in a peaceful and democratic Japan should look to the prisons, not the palaces.

In the Wind

U. S. S. R. ZION: The September 15 bulletin of the Agricultural Committee for American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., reports that "twenty years ago the Soviet government offered the territory around Birobidshan, on the northeast border of Manchuria, to the Jews as an autonomous Jewish region. Gradually about 200 enterprising and hardy settlers moved in. . . . These Jewish farmers have converted their part of the Amur valley. . . into the most homelike place in Russian Asia. Their collective farms compare favorably with any American or European estate."

TOLERANCE: The Gentile League, which lost its charter in July, 1944, because of its anti-Semitism, is seeking for a new license. In an interview with Arthur W. Friede, founder of the league, the *Milwaukee Journal* of September 16 reports Friede's denial of anti-Semitic charges. "We have to call it the Gentile League," he said, "to let the Jews know we have an organization, too. They have an organization that we can't join, but we won't go that far. If they can qualify, they can join ours. . . . One of the aims of the league is to try to prevent any particular group getting control of [surplus war goods] and gouging the American public. . . . The league emphatically declares that it is not anti-religious."

DEMOCRATIZATION: The September 8 issue of *Editor and Publisher* mentions that articles from the *Chicago Tribune* are being sent to the main prisoner-of-war camp at Concordia, Kansas, for use in a German monthly digest, and quotes a letter from the camp's assistant executive officer to the *Tribune*: "Your newspaper has been coming regularly to this camp and has served a useful purpose indeed in the reeducation of German prisoners."

NOTICE TO THE BIBLE CLASS: A correspondent has sent in a clipping from *Variety* noting that Frank Ross, who is making a Hollywood spectacle out of "The Robe," has signed a contract to provide color stills from the picture for use as illustrations in an edition of the New Testament to be published after the film is released.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

Czechs and Sudetens

BY RALPH PARKER

(Moscow correspondent of the Overseas Press; before the war bureau chief for the New York Times and the London Times in Prague.)

Prague, September 10

IT MUST be Czechoslovakia. It is so beautiful," said the Prime Minister to the Minister of the Interior as the plane that brought the Czechoslovak government delegation back from Moscow topped the Sudeten Mountains. And if perhaps the Czech statesman's appreciation of his country's loveliness was heightened by the events of the preceding week, in which he had won Soviet support for Czech retention of Tesin (Teschen) but had had to yield Subcarpathian Ukraine, the reaction was natural to anybody who had been flying over war-scarred Russia, obliterated Warsaw, and a Silesia apparently stripped of its population.

Of the two stock phrases usually applied to Bohemia, the cockpit and the crossroads of Europe, the second is again relevant, for never in Czech history have so many foreigners streamed through the capital as during the past three months. In Prague's Alcron Hotel, where Lord Runciman prepared his memorandum on the Sudeten German question and Reichs Protector Baron Otto von Neurath took refuge from the castle ghosts, are gathered former inmates of concentration camps, Russian, British, and American officers, members of the Soviet purchasing commission, UNRRA officials, Slovak factory owners waiting impatiently to know whether their property is going to be nationalized, German anti-fascists collecting sponsors for their applications for Czechoslovak citizenship, Cabinet ministers in London-tailored suits and Cabinet ministers in off-the-peg Moscow suits. Nearly all these people are waiting. They are waiting for the foreign armies to leave Czech soil, for the promised improvement in the food situation, which is as bad as it ever was under the Germans, for trucks and gasoline from Bremen, for the return of their property, for the mass expulsion of the Germans to begin, for the revolution to end.

People say that the revolution is marking time because the political situation has developed in a way that none save perhaps the alert and farseeing President himself had expected. When I spoke to Czech Communists in Moscow at the time the Social Democrat, Zdenek Fierlinger, was forming his provisional government, they estimated the support they were likely to get in the country at 60 per cent. Today they admit that they will be lucky to get 25 per cent of the vote when the elections take place at the year's end. They attribute the decline to the public's realization that the Communists enjoy no monopoly of Russian good-will and to the fact that the Red Army, like any army living off the land it is in, is scarcely a good advertisement for the policy of its government. Within the Czech Communist Party the more experienced leaders from the emigration are striving to convince their followers that loyalty to the treaty of alliance between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union does not require a slavish imitation of Soviet meth-

ods. Some of them say that when President Benes and most of the present government were in Moscow, Stalin offered the advice that Fierlinger's list was too heavily weighted toward the extreme left. The Communists are vociferous advocates of a close working union between the three socialist parties—their own, the Social Democrats, and the non-Marxist National Socialists. If this so-called National Bloc can hold together until the elections, the gains of the Christian Populists are not likely seriously to menace the emergence of a left-wing coalition government.

Whether such a government would maintain the democratic freedoms so marked in Czechoslovakia during the present interim period is a question. The official newspaper of the Christian Populist Party summed up its view of present political trends in these words:

Liberal democracy should make concessions in the field of economic liberalism, and the new socialist doctrine should continue to make concessions in the direction of political liberalism. The liberal doctrine in its economic form of capitalism is dead, but liberalism as a method, as a habit of decent and reasonable intercourse between people . . . will not cease to exist. . . . The new social organizations carry certain dangers in them. State control over heavy industry, mines, and the like can result under certain conditions in the accumulation of a dangerous amount of political power by an anonymous authority difficult to control—the state. The greatest evil of the twentieth century is the distrust of individual freedom by the state, whose role in modern life should be a regulative and coordinating one. . . . Our state, at the crossroads between the liberal west and the socialist east, possesses all the conditions necessary for carrying out a synthesis of a most reasonable character.

There is no censorship, travel is unrestricted, and people can call public meetings and organize demonstrations to advocate anything except fascism. Nevertheless, there is a good deal of tension in the country. The Czech character has changed deeply since I knew it before the war. The terror peculiar to this region was a cold, scheduled terror designed to affect the greatest number of people. It is now reckoned that about 100,000 Czechs in the "Protectorate," excluding persons murdered on racial grounds, were killed; one-third of the intelligentsia was wiped out. And in other villages than Lidice wheat now grows where houses once stood. As repatriated Czechs from the Reich, over six hundred thousand so far of the million and a quarter deported, stream through Prague, some experience the joys of reunion, but for others there are only memories and pain. In some the experience of terror has left a lassitude which may for a period have serious economic consequences. In others it has created a cruelty that was rare among Czechs. When I visited the Sudeten areas German anti-fascists told

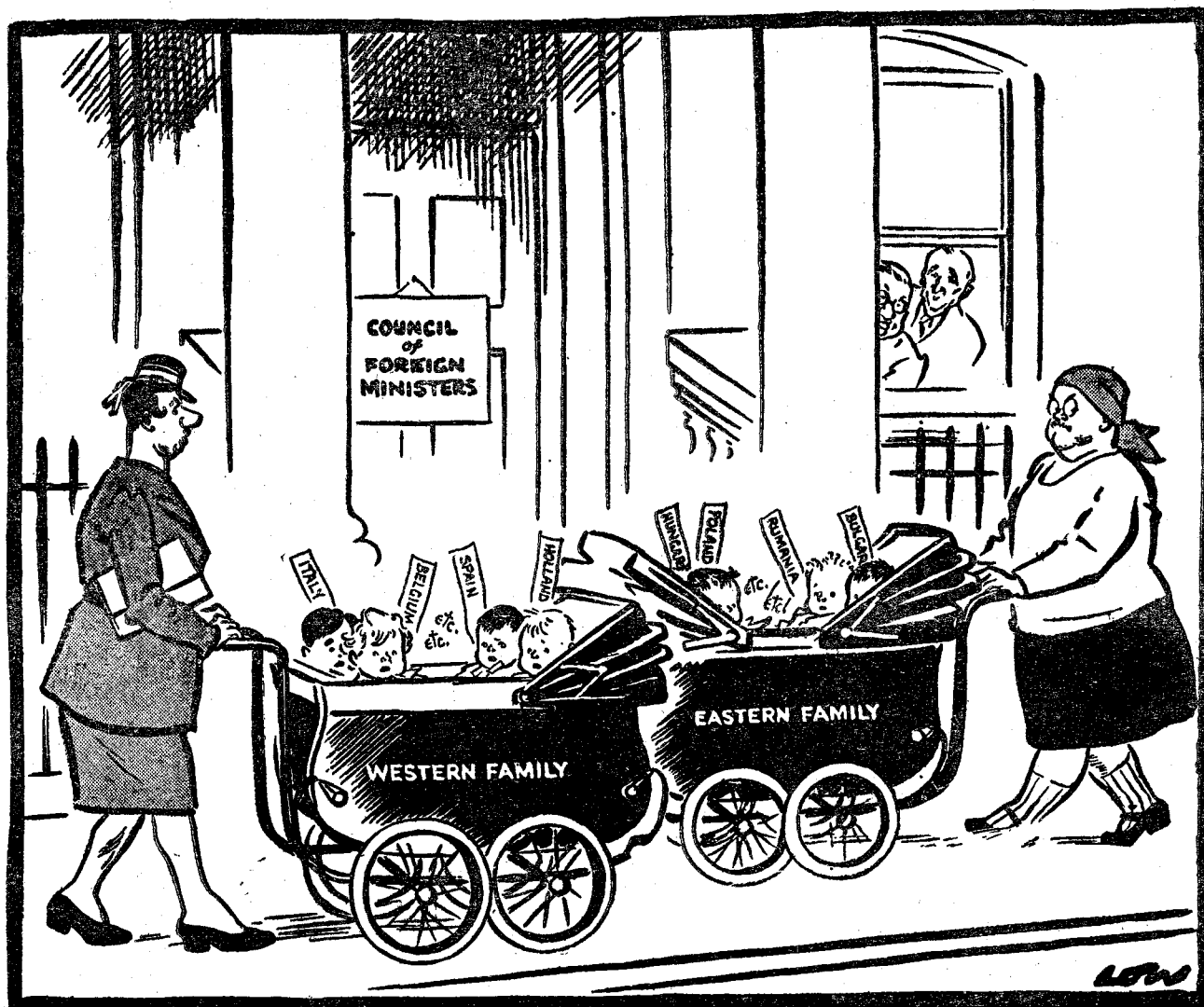
me how shocked they were to find Czechs using brutal methods against the German population. "We did not know these Czechs before the war," they said. "They have a hardness that is new to their character." "We have been deeply disappointed," a German Communist said to me in Usti-na-Labem (Aussig), "to find the Czech Socialists have forgotten that we are their comrades." It seemed fitting to remind him that the Czechs had been more than disappointed when the German Socialist vote melted away in 1938 and left Henlein triumphant. "Do you trust German Communists?" I asked Josef Weiner, tight-lipped Communist chairman of a Czech commission at Decin. "Not one of them," he replied.

If one accepts the Czech view that the bulk of the Sudeten Germans must leave Czechoslovakia, the plan by which the evacuation is being carried out is not a cruel one. It is pretty freely admitted that excesses have taken place, that Czech youths do not always differentiate between those who opposed Henlein and those who followed him like sheep. But since the movement of Germans from the Sudeten areas has begun to gain momentum, there has been a slackening of tension. The manufacturing town of Usti provides a fair sample of what is happening all through the Elbe valley in Czechoslovakia. Some thirty thousand Czechs have already returned to Usti, in ships down the swift-flowing river, along the roads in captured German trucks, in crowded

trains. The town was severely damaged by air raids last April, and the Czechs believe that the Germans should help to rebuild it before they leave and should continue to man the machines in the big Schicht margarine factory until they can be replaced by Czech labor.

Ten local Germans, Communists and Social Democrats who were in active opposition to Konrad Henlein's Sudeten German Party before Munich, have been permitted to organize an anti-fascist committee of investigation with the right to issue green identification cards to Germans who in their opinion are worthy of being considered potentially loyal Czechoslovak citizens. In theory the possession of this card protects the owner from summary expulsion or loss of personal property. But until the Czechoslovak authorities have completed their inquiries and the process of "opting" is over, it does not confer on the Germans those "human rights" they will enjoy later under the government's Kosice program; for the time being they are obliged to wear the badge of defeat, the white armband, and are barred entry into most public places. They are, in short, Germans with whom the Czechs have agreed to conclude an armistice.

A larger group of Germans in the Usti region have received from the Czech authorities red identification cards that classify them as essential workers to be kept in the region until those among them who are considered disloyal are



"YOU'RE NOT THE ONLY ONE WHO CAN RAISE A FAMILY"

replaced by Czech immigrants. As they leave the factories, they come under the jurisdiction of the local labor exchange, which drafts them to work on demolition and rebuilding. At the Schicht works about two thousand Germans of this class are at work; a somewhat smaller number, in a German-built factory at Podmokly lower down the Elbe, where parts of V-2 and V-3 were pressed. They receive pay and rations equal to those of the Czechs and are in general, they told us, unmolested. Yet another group consists of a small number of prisoners who, while awaiting trial by the courts, are put to work under guard. In the Schicht works I saw a detachment of fifty prisoners being marched to a truck. Many wore S. S. uniforms. Their heads were shaven, their clothes hung on them, their cheeks were hollow. A visit to the Terezin fortress, however, revealed that they were provided with three times as much living space as the Jews who preceded them in that notorious prison.

The Czechs intend that all Germans who are neither possible future optants nor essential workers shall leave the country as soon as air-raid damages have been made good and the Russians can accept them in Germany. Several thousand, we were told, had already left Usti. Under the regulations they were allowed to take with them as much personal luggage as they could carry and, if they owned them, a gold watch and wedding ring. Their transportation to the frontier and for about ten miles into Germany is in the hands of the Czechoslovak army.

That this plan is not being strictly adhered to everywhere is largely the fault of the Germans. The Usti anti-fascist committee, for example, has aroused Czech suspicion by issuing three times as many green identification cards as there were anti-Henlein votes cast in Usti in the crucial municipal elections of 1938. A member of the Austrian commission at Most was caught selling Austrian papers to Nazis. In Decin a secret German radio transmitter was broadcasting

anti-Czech propaganda the day I visited the town. Czech officers have been killed by "werewolf" detachments in this area, and recently the Germans made an unsuccessful attempt to free prisoners from a Czech internment camp. At Podmokly we were shown cleverly forged Communist Party membership cards.

The political attitude of the German anti-fascists in Usti does not augur well for the future of Czech-German relations. During a talk with the committee in the presence of Czech officials I received an invitation to spend the evening with the Germans alone. I picked my way through a ruined square and entered a comfortably furnished apartment owned by a German doctor, where six or seven members of the German anti-fascist group were gathered. For the next four hours, over several bottles of Kreuznach '38, I heard six or seven different points of view expressed about the future of the Sudeten Germans. The speakers revealed complete bewilderment about the principles on which Germans should take their stand. They seemed unable to decide whether their true home was in the Sudetenland, provided living conditions were tolerable, or whether it was their duty to go to the Reich and work for a new Germany; whether their best hope for the future lay in transfer to Austria or whether they should try to go to Canada. "I will say something that I have never said aloud before," one German who had spent years in a concentration camp confessed at the end of our talk. "We Germans lack civic courage. Our real place is in the Reich. We anti-fascists should be in the van of the movement to lead the Germans back to Germany. Instead of that we are afraid of material conditions in the Reich." "We are a people without a land," he continued. "The Czechs don't want us because, they say, we destroyed their state. The Germans don't want us because, they say, we began the war. But if we are anti-fascists, the Germans of the Reich need us. And there we must go."

The Legion Looks at Labor

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

FOR two years before he was called into the services, Frank Stolo was employed by the Harvey Machine Company in Los Angeles. He served in the Attu campaign and was wounded; he served in the South Pacific, where he was again wounded, and was awarded the Bronze Star. Receiving an honorable discharge, Stolo—a non-union man—recently returned to his old job. In reemploying Stolo the company ranked him in seniority according to the length of his service with the company before he was inducted, plus the time he had served in the army. The question of his seniority rating is now before the courts in an action brought by the company against the C. I. O. union with which it has a contract.

Similar suits are now pending in a dozen or more states. In Congress the Committee on Veterans' Affairs has favorably reported H. R. 3384, which seeks to exempt veterans from closed-shop contracts and encourages employers to hire them as strike-breakers. Although the favorable report on

this measure was sneaked through by Rankin's trickery—an actual majority of the committee later issued a "minority report" opposing the bill—the fact that it is on the calendar serves to point up the danger. In the courts and in Congress the reactionaries are trying to stir up a bogus veterans-vs.-labor dispute for the purpose of undermining the position of both veterans and trade unions. In California a group of ambitious promoters has been offering large sums of money to various veterans' groups in an effort, thus far unsuccessful, to induce them to sponsor an initiative measure patterned after the Rankin bill.

What position is the American Legion likely to take in this rapidly developing controversy? Did Rankin, long known as a spokesman in Congress for the Legion, actually represent it in sponsoring H. R. 3384? In the past the Legion has pretty consistently inclined toward the employer position on all questions of industrial relations. But these are strange times, and a new wind seems to be blowing in Legion affairs.

The first indication that a change was developing on labor issues appeared during the 1938 national convention, when two regularly chartered trade-union posts, Dawn Post and Los Angeles Labor Post, called a meeting of legionnaires who were union members. Out of this initial meeting came the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires, which now has permanent headquarters in Chicago, 127 affiliated trade-union posts scattered across the country, and a total labor membership in the Legion of about 25,000. For the current year the conference has submitted a budget of \$50,000 to finance its activities. If it succeeds in raising this sum, the conference proposes to conduct an aggressive educational and public-relations campaign, both in and out of the Legion, in an effort to develop better Legion-labor relations. Some of the large international unions, recognizing the importance of the movement, have already pledged financial assistance.

The future role that the conference may play in Legion affairs will be largely determined by the number of new trade-union posts that it is able to form and, less directly, by the number of trade unionists it is able to enrol in the Legion. For despite the fact that the reins of control are tightly held in the Legion, the locally chartered post remains the basic organizational unit. Top officials may stall and equivocate, but eventually they must take cognizance of important changes in the composition of local posts. With this in mind, the conference has been exerting skilful pressure in those cases where state commanderies have been reluctant to charter local trade-union posts. If pressure from the conference has not been sufficient to compel the issuance of charters, members of unions have been urged to join some already existing trade-union post in the same locality.

At the 1941 convention of the Legion, the conference succeeded in securing the adoption of a resolution calling for the establishment of a National Labor Relations Committee. As envisaged by the conference, the committee was to serve as a brake on precipitous action on controversial issues, to tone down ill-considered speeches by top Legion officials, and to be a clearing house, within the Legion, on labor matters. Although the convention voted to establish the committee, successive national commanders refused to put the mandate into effect. In both the national and the state departments of the Legion the judge advocate functions much in the manner of a permanent under secretary in a British ministry. Commanders may come and go, but the judge advocate remains. In this instance, as in most controversial matters, the national judge advocate upheld the action of the national commanders. But the conference refused to give up the fight. Four years later, the National Labor Relations Committee was actually established, with three associate members of the conference among its members. This is the first time in the history of the Legion that labor representatives have served on a standing national committee.

In addition to securing the establishment of this committee, the national conference has been able to exert a quiet but growing influence on questions of Legion policy. For example, it has been leading an important fight on Local Board Memorandum 190-a, under which General Lewis B. Hershey has sought to create a kind of "super-seniority" for veterans under Section 8 of the Selective Service Act. Actu-

ally this memorandum is designed to pit veterans of World War I against veterans of World War II, and veterans of World War II against organized labor. In 1943 and again in 1944 national commanders of the Legion indorsed the interpretation of Section 8 embodied in the memorandum. The conference not only opposed this action but proceeded, through a process of education and publicity, to explain the implications and true meaning of the memorandum to Legion posts all over the country. And at a recent annual meeting in Chicago the conference adopted a resolution calling upon the Legion to withdraw its indorsement of the memorandum. Copies are being sent to all member posts with letters asking their support.

At the same Chicago meeting the conference urged the Legion to rescind a resolution adopted at the last annual convention against further immigration; urged modification of another resolution which places the Legion on record in favor of deporting "all aliens in the United States with subversive records" (the conference feels that the records of native American fascists also should be scrutinized); called on the Legion to rescind a resolution favoring "experience rating" in state unemployment-compensation acts; asked for repeal of a resolution attacking American citizens of Japanese descent; deplored the "Rankin type" of inquiry into veterans' affairs; indorsed the issuance of charters to so-called "colored" posts; and went on record in support of many other liberal and progressive measures. Perhaps the most important resolution of the conference was one suggesting the establishment of administrative tribunals to hold hearings on veterans' reinstatement cases.

The conference has also been asking the national officers of the Legion some extremely pertinent questions: "Why the anti-labor cartoons and columns in the Legion magazine, which is sent to some three million men overseas?" "Why did Commander Waring fall for the stupid Guadalcanal story?" "Why did Commander Atherton suggest the electrocution of certain labor-union officials?" Rhetorical as these questions may be, the fact that they have been raised within the Legion, in an official manner, has had important repercussions. Today all portions of official Legion speeches dealing with labor must clear through the National Labor Relations Committee. The establishment of this procedure, in itself, represents a notable victory for the conference.

The success of the conference has now become a matter of national concern. Of the million men who have been discharged from the services in World War II, 560,000 are reported to have joined the American Legion. The success or failure of current efforts to provoke a fake veterans-vs.-labor dispute may therefore hinge upon the question of how successfully the conference can influence Legion policy. The future of the Legion itself may depend upon the same question. For if the Legion permits itself to become the catspaw of reaction in the fight now brewing, it may forfeit its position as the largest veterans' organization in the world. The work of the conference is of national importance for still another reason. Since its members are drawn from the ranks of both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions, it can be a powerful force toward eventual unification of the labor movement. Fortunately, the leadership of the confer-

ence is in excellent hands. Through such men as Charles Vencill of Los Angeles, Henry Geisz of New York, and Maurice A. Frank of Chicago, ably supported by George C. Danfield, Irvin Kuenzli, George Lindborg, and Joseph Veloskey (director of veterans' affairs for the U. A. W.), the conference is unquestionably developing into a major force within the Legion.

Moreover, its influence on Legion policy is likely to increase rather than to diminish in the future. As in a fraternal organization, new leaders in the Legion must slowly and painfully ascend from local to state to national offices

in order to influence effectively major policy decisions. In the Legion, as in the trade unions, seniority seems to be important. Thus about a decade usually must elapse before a new current of opinion can find reflection in Legion policy. From now on the conference should be able to count on a growing opinion within the Legion, and not only among union-labor legionnaires, in support of its policies and program. If the present hierarchy of the Legion can be prevailed upon to listen to the voice of the conference, the pending veteran-labor dispute may be avoided or at least kept within reasonable bounds.

No Surrender at All!

BY TSUYOSHI MATSUMOTO

(After studying at Meiji Gakuin, a religious school in Tokyo, and the Union Theological Seminary in New York, Mr. Matsumoto became an instructor in military intelligence, first, at the University of Michigan and then at the University of Chicago. He has contributed articles to Asia.)

WE MUST take a realistic view of Japan's surrender. It has not surrendered its will to conquer; neither has it surrendered its hatred of the victors. During the first week after capitulation, Domei told the world, millions of loyal subjects "with tears of shame" prayed to the Emperor, saying: "Forgive us, Your Majesty, our efforts have not been enough!" Most of the news we have received so far from defeated Japan has been equally if not more disturbing. The militarists and imperialists are still in power; men who ought to be tried as war criminals still rule Japan. They are still telling the people what to think and how to act. They are systematically inoculating the nation against liberation, democracy, and peace. And at the time of writing they are getting away with it. In short, this is no surrender at all.

Let's look at the facts:

1. *The historical pattern of surrender.* Contrary to the often-repeated statement, Japan was defeated and invaded once before by foreign powers. It was forced to sign humiliating treaties and to grant extra-territoriality and alien control of its imports and exports. On July 8, 1853, when Commodore Perry sailed into the Bay of Tokyo (then Yedo) with a squadron of four "black ships," a state of undeclared war was suddenly thrust upon "isolationist" Japan. There was no shooting, to be sure. But the impact of the "black ships" did to the awestricken Japanese at that time what the atom bombs did in this war. Consequently, when Perry returned seven months later to receive the answer of the Japanese government, this time with seven black ships, the Japanese agreed to the Commodore's terms. Within two years Great Britain, Russia, and Holland had induced the Japanese to sign treaties containing most-favored-nation clauses.

The events that followed are worth recalling as part of the pattern of surrender. Men who had favored the acceptance of the peace terms were regarded as traitors and in some cases assassinated by reactionary patriots. The "peaceful occupation" began smoothly, but when an "arrogant Britisher" named C. L. Richardson was killed for cutting across

a procession in honor of the lord of Satsuma, the British sent a squadron to Kagoshima and on the expiration of their ultimatum bombarded the city. While the Richardson incident was being discussed by the Shogun's military government at Yedo, the extreme nationalists of the imperial court, then at Kyoto, got the sanction of the Emperor for the cancellation of all existing peace treaties and the expulsion of the foreigners—effective as of June 5, 1863. Some hotheads in Choshu now took the matter in their own hands and fired upon the American, French, and Dutch ships. In reply, an allied fleet headed by nine British warships and containing one makeshift merchant steamer representing the United States navy bombarded the coast. Overwhelmed by the incomparable superiority of Western weapons, leading nobles of Satsuma and Choshu overthrew the Tokugawa regime and became the rulers of the new Japan under the protective cover of the restoration of the imperial dynasty, in 1867. They then suddenly abandoned their extreme anti-foreign policy and welcomed the presence of the "foreign teachers" as a means of enabling them to gain time and a knowledge of the new methods of war. Thus, historically speaking, Pearl Harbor was a return call of the vengeful successors of the early hotheads of Satsuma and Choshu. Like yesterday's surrender, today's is no surrender, really.

2. *The atom bomb.* The fact is clear: the new weapon overwhelmed the enemy, and not having any counter-measure he stopped fighting—"undefeated" otherwise. Though our



army heads called them "military cities," nearly a quarter of a million civilians were massacred at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We called the Japanese inhuman when they bombed to obliteration Chinese cities containing helpless women and children. With some justification, perhaps, they will make a moral issue of the atom bomb. It will be as hard for them to forget Hiroshima and Nagasaki as it is for us to forget Pearl Harbor, which is sufficient to cause another war. Today's victory and all the sacrifices we have made so far will be utterly wasted unless we can erase the fear and hatred we have planted in the hearts of the Japanese nation and help the Japanese people to see that their dead have died in order that they, the living, might have life, freedom, and peace. We must show them the full meaning of their government's earlier refusal to accept the Potsdam terms, of the atom bombing, and of the final surrender. We must let them know that if the thousands had not died at Hiroshima, many millions of the living would have been sacrificed by the war lords.

3. *The unbeaten land armies.* Not to mention the proud Kwantung army in Manchuria, which battled for a few days with the Russian army, some 2,000,000 crack troops have been demobilized in the home islands. They never had a chance to meet the Allied invasion armies. Emotionally, they must be suffering from a tremendous "let-down," to say nothing of the humiliation of the surrender. Admittedly the world's greatest underground fighters, they no doubt had built in the mountainous regions extensive underground fortifications which were relatively untouched by our air assaults. They had planned to hold their ground for months against an all-out invasion by at least 5,000,000 men. That means a tremendous stock of arms and provisions stored away somewhere deep underground. We ought to realize that the Japanese militarists, defiant of the victorious Allied powers, defiant even of the imperial wish and of the war-weary people, have undoubtedly made all arrangements for future operations. They will not indulge in any small "incidents" which will betray their larger plans; they will be as harmless as new-born babes from now until they are ready; they will be "peaceful and cooperative" in order to disarm the victors. And they will strike exactly when we shall have decided that the threat of Japanese military aggression is no more—five years from now, perhaps, when the United Nations are tired of maintaining an occupational force in Japan, or perhaps fifty years from now. Waiting is nothing to the patient militarists of Japan.

4. *The unknown future strategy of war.* Military victory, no matter how complete, is no peace insurance. History has shown us that. No weapon remains a secret and exclusive possession of one military power very long. If anyone thinks that the peace is now assured because only America and England possess the secret of atomic energy, he is a fool. Japanese brains have enough ingenuity, imagination, and intelligence, although most Westerners would not like to admit it, to master any man-made weapons of war. Many people feel we are now safe from the threat of Japanese aggression because Japan has been stripped of arms and war industries and cut off from raw materials. Unfortunately, the situation may be different in the new era of atomic energy which has just been ushered in. Perhaps I am unduly pes-

simistic, but I believe we cannot afford to think of the future in terms of today's scientific inventions alone. Japan, though deprived of today's essential war industries and today's essential raw materials, can still prepare for tomorrow's war—and right under the nose of the occupation government. Today's unbeatable strategies of war will become in time like those of the British defenders of Singapore.

5. *The same old war lords in peacemakers' clothing.* In Japan today the same old oligarchy, composed of imperialists, *Gumbatsu*, and *Zaibatsu*, is desperately trying to stay in power. Ironically, this oligarchy has many admirers and friends in the United States, persons who seem incapable of distinguishing the real issues from personal sentiment. They are blinded by the gentleness and amiability of individual members of the oligarchy and by their apparent distance from the inhumanities and atrocities committed in their name under their system. Now that the United States has the power to shape tomorrow's Japan, it will be a shame if such Americans are placed in positions of responsibility. They will never know what the common people of Japan think and feel. They will even thwart the will of the common people.

What can we accomplish further by using the same puppet ruler, the same political machinery, the same government system, complete with the police? True, the occupation was carried out smoothly by that method, but we should not therefore feel indebted to any member of the Japanese oligarchy or to the Emperor. To defeat one's opponent by using his power is the secret of Japanese jujutsu. It worked for us. But after the enemy is down, one must "cook his goose," not help him to his feet. What kind of game are we playing with the imperial government of Japan?

6. *The attitude of the war lords to the Emperor.* They have asked to be allowed to retain the institution of the god-emperor, including his "prerogatives." Obviously, this is a face-saving device, a device for shifting the responsibilities of peace-making to the Emperor. Thus they have actually sold the Emperor to the alien conquerors, forcing him to become a puppet of the foreign occupational government. According to their own code of ethics and the carefully built myth of the inviolable, infallible god-emperor, this constitutes the highest treason. But so far they have managed to withhold the truth from the Japanese people. Their audacity and arrogance are simply amazing. They have said to the people: "Our armed forces are unbeaten; we have only obeyed His Majesty's wish and command in laying down our arms; we have not lost the war but have only accepted the changed situation which makes it necessary for the nation to cooperate with the occupation government, because that is His Majesty's benevolent will for the peace of the world; you must not blame anyone but yourselves for this situation and must ask yourselves whether you did your best to win the war!"

All these facts are most alarming. The only conclusion to be drawn is that Japan surrendered nothing except the now obsolete weapons of war, having been forced by the atom bomb to accept the "changed situation." The Japanese war lords know that this is no surrender at all. And we should know it.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

MR. WALLACE AND THE WISE BOYS

BY STUART CHASE

HENRY WALLACE has written a clear, fine book, "Sixty Million Jobs,"* about full employment after the war. Already the air is heavy with attacks upon it, beginning with Senator Taft in the *New York Times* on September 9. Why is this? We had about 65,000,000 jobs filled on V-J Day. Wouldn't it be a good thing to hold 60,000,000 of them in the peace to come? Do veterans want to start asking brothers for dimes again?

Everybody officially claims to be for full employment, but powerful minority groups are organizing to kill all specific measures leading to that end. Privately they say that it is high time to have a buyers' market in labor once more. They affirm that unemployment is the price we must pay for the blessings of our free-enterprise system. Booms and depressions, they say, are as much a part of the system as the Stock Exchange, and Mr. Wallace and his ilk, wittingly or unwittingly, are taking us right into the Kremlin.

Wittingly or unwittingly, the minority groups are adopting an exceedingly dangerous strategy. It is dangerous not only for the country and for the world at large but for themselves and their properties. The formula seems to be: remove all government controls, decimate the bureaucrats, balance the budget, reduce corporate taxes, and let nature take its course. A better recipe for complete economic disintegration it is difficult to imagine. In a time which demands bold, aggressive action their program is completely negative. It disregards the facts of two world wars, of the super-depression of the '30's, the distortions of our economy under the pressures of the last five years, the coming of the atomic bomb, and above all the temper of the rank and file of our people. It totally disregards the wishes of 15,000,000 service men, now home or coming home.

Mr. Wallace's critics do not see the lesson spelled out in every soldier and civilian opinion poll. Americans quite clearly do not care for any system, however pleasing its name, which puts millions of them on the streets as in 1932. They had all they wanted of the WPA. It is just thirteen years too late to choose between free enterprise as Senator Taft understands it and full employment as Mr. Wallace understands it. The choice in 1946 is between Mr. Wallace's compensatory plan, which reserves great areas for free enterprise, and something much farther to the left—something perhaps like that which the British people voted for; something perhaps stiffer.

Americans, paced by the veterans, are determined to have jobs by one road or another. This, I think, is one of the few things one can be certain of in an uncertain world. So Mr.

Wallace's opponents if they kill his plan will find themselves in far worse plight than if they had come to his support. He is their best hope for a middle-of-the-road course, in a world plunging to the left.

II

Mr. Wallace belongs to what I like to call the "give-'em-a-break" school rather than to the "bums-and-loafers" school. He believes in people, in "the fundamental decency of man." He wants to give every child an opportunity to develop the maximum powers its genes and its glands allow. He is not afraid of the mob, as Hamilton was—he welcomes it. To him the mob is "the folks." He is a genuine, corn-fed democrat.

Again and again he returns to the idea of inter-dependence in power-age societies. People must pull together if they are to survive. There is no room in a high-energy culture for anarchists, rugged individualists, or me-first pressure groups. Every man, whether he likes it or not, is now his brother's keeper.

Thus by a curious turn of fate Christian ethics become not only theoretically admirable but exceedingly practical. A citizen can no longer provide his own food, shelter, clothing, transport, education. The machine has collectivized him; if he bursts out of the community he is done for. He must take his food and supplies out of the general pot of production to which millions of his fellows have contributed. Can he flout those millions indefinitely and live? He cannot. That is why we are well into "the century of the common man."

A man without work in the power age is the most miserable of God's creatures. Within memory of people now alive anyone could earn a living on the land when the factories and shops closed. That retreat has long since been cut off. Decade by decade the number of farmers relative to total population grows less; it is now under 20 per cent.

Given full employment, nearly every other economic and social problem becomes manageable. Workers are contented, and so are farmers. Negroes—the first group to be fired and the last to be hired—have a far better time of it. Crime goes down as mental and physical health goes up. Ample funds become available for education, science, research. Taxes are relatively easy to bear when the national gross income hits \$200 billion, and the federal debt can be held in line. With a large volume of unemployment a debt of \$300 billion will rapidly become unmanageable.

Once we begin believing, says Mr. Wallace, that we can get along indefinitely with five to ten million chronically unemployed, we must then:

Force our sights down from a \$200 billion gross income to perhaps \$125 billion, which means

* Simon and Schuster and Reynal and Hitchcock, \$2 (cloth); Simon and Schuster, \$1 (paper).

The purchasing power of consumers drops from \$135 billion to \$80 billion, and

Farm income drops from \$22 billion to \$7 billion, and

Corporation gross profits drop from \$25 billion to \$5 billion,

While mass unemployment will require huge government expenditures once more for relief, which will

Unbalance the federal budget worse than ever.

Thus the more cautious we are in our plans to balance the budget the worse we are likely to unbalance it. If we try to pay off the debt by killing all programs for 60,000,000 jobs, we shall only get a heavier debt. It is like driving in speedway traffic. The slow, cautious driver may get smashed up trying to avoid a smash-up. This is no time in history for timid men.

III

The above are some of the reasons and the philosophies which inspire Mr. Wallace. They also inspire men of goodwill who belong to the "give-'em-a-break" school. They should inspire every canny business man who does not want to be wiped out in a runaway inflation or sunk in a bottomless depression.

Good. What kind of compensatory economy does Mr. Wallace propose? The familiar article. I would guess that the majority of American economists under fifty are for it; and every British economist of any age, except Professor Hayek—who originally came from Austria. Mr. Wallace, however, has some elegant new statistical concepts and figures, produced by the WPB and other agencies in their actual war experience. In 1933 we didn't know the shape of our economy. We have learned it now. We had to, or lose the war.

A compensatory economy can also be called a thermostat economy. When the house gets too hot, the furnace shuts off; when it gets too cold, it speeds up. The thermostatic controls to puncture incipient booms and dissolve incipient depressions include incentive taxation, social-security rates, public works, stimulation to little business, housing development, income-tax rates, open-market operations, Federal Reserve interest rates. When a boom threatens, says Mr. Wallace, raise income-tax rates and pay off some of the debt. When a depression threatens, increase consumers' purchasing power by lowering social-security rates, stimulating business expansion, and, as a last resort, letting contracts to private enterprise for public works. Encourage local communities to cooperate in all such plans, as the TVA now does. Encourage organized business men, workers, and farmers to cooperate with the government in applying these compensatory devices.

If you like Mr. Wallace's proposals you can help them along in a practical way by getting behind S 380, the Murray bill for full employment, shortly to be reported out of committee. It is indorsed by President Truman, by Secretaries Byrnes and Vinson, by Beardsley Ruml, Henry Dennison, and many others. The Committee for Economic Development is mostly for it, and the National Association of Manufacturers against it. All the labor organizations are for it.

Mr. Wallace follows S 380 in proposing that the President give the country and Congress a budget message in January, a budget covering the *whole* national economy. In

this message the President, aided by experts, would estimate the shape of the economy for the coming year—the gross national income, the proportion of savings and investment, the levels of employment. On the basis of this estimate he would recommend certain compensatory measures for Congress to pass in order to keep the national economy on an even keel. It would then be up to Congress. If Congress did nothing, and the economy began to go to pieces, the voters would know exactly whom to blame. Notice how carefully both Mr. Wallace and S 380 preserve our democratic procedures. There is no chance for a dictator to worm his way into economic planning of this kind.

IV

In 1939 we had a gross national income of \$89 billion; in 1944, of \$199 billion, of which nearly \$100 billion was due to war outlays. For 1950, after reconversion is completed, Mr. Wallace advocates the following model, at 1944 prices:

Consumer spending for food, shelter, etc. . .	\$135 billion
Capital formation by business men	30 "
Outlays by government—federal, state, and local	35 "

Total gross national income \$200 billion

Under this arrangement, the federal budget could readily be balanced and some of the debt retired. Meanwhile the 60,000,000 jobs would fall into such patterns as these:

Manufacturing	15,000,000
Trade	9,000,000
Farming	8,000,000
Government and the armed services	7,000,000
Self-employed workers	6,000,000
Finance and miscellaneous	6,000,000
Construction	3,500,000
Transport and utilities	3,500,000
Domestic service	2,000,000

Total 60,000,000

Men . . . 42,000,000	Native white . . 48,000,000
Women . . 18,000,000	Foreign-born white 6,000,000
	Negroes 6,000,000

Total . . 60,000,000 Total 60,000,000

Organized . . . 14,000,000

Unorganized . . 46,000,000

Total 60,000,000

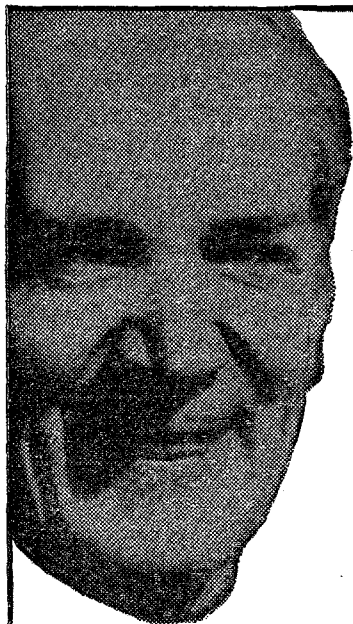
Mr. Wallace anticipates 1,500,000 workers frictionally unemployed at all times, on the average.

These patterns are impossible without two things:

First, cooperation between government and the Big Three pressure groups that represent labor, business, farming.

Second, an industrial output geared to the formula of high wages, high volume, low overhead costs, and low prices—which means no serious price manipulation by monopolies.

C. E. Wilson of General Electric believes that full employment is possible only if we have the take-home wages of 1944 combined with the prices of 1940. The National Planning Association estimates output at 40 to 50 per cent more



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New York 16, N. Y.

than before the war, for full employment—which will put quite a strain on us consumers! But the lower third of the population provides literally a bottomless gulf for more goods.

How else can we knock \$70 or \$80 billion of war goods out of the picture and still keep everybody busy? Working hours will of course come down, which helps some. But the pre-war wage-price relationship *must change too*: higher wages relative to prices, as Mr. Wilson says. Management and labor have a stiff assignment here—to increase efficiency. The war-born labor-management committees obviously must go on. If increased efficiency aided by the low overhead of capacity production can hold down unit costs, then wages can rise without taking prices up with them. The vicious circle can be broken. There is no other way to break it. The only other way to full employment is by vast government expenditures for public works, year in and year out—pyramid building.

V

One can find little to criticize in Mr. Wallace's approach, if one really wants full employment, and is shy of government operation of industry. His estimate of 15,000,000 workers in manufacturing may be a bit high. His projected exports of \$12 to \$14 billion are higher than anything I can figure by 1950. He does not seem to sense the full strength of post-war collectivism all over the world—but perhaps he wrote before the British elections.

One does not need to be quite so enthusiastic over private competitive enterprise, when a glance around the horizon reveals the institution in full retreat. I do not love a private enterpriser any more than I love a cooperative enterpriser, or a state enterpriser. All can be useful under certain conditions and destructive under others. What I try to keep my eye on is the effect these various institutional agencies have on the human beings within them. Are they happy and creative or miserable and apathetic?

Mr. Wallace has given us the handbook for the American road to full employment. The wise boys, as I said earlier, are already beginning to laugh him off. They are the same boys who have been having one good laugh after another for almost twenty years.

In 1927 they laughed off the stock market and said it could not go higher.

In 1929 they said prosperity was here to stay.

In 1930 they said it would be back in sixty days.

In 1935 they said inflation, caused by an unbalanced budget, was about to ruin us.

At the same time they said a national debt of \$50 billion would mark the end of the world, that the unemployed were bums and loafers, and that taxes were at a level no man could stand.

In 1940 they said it was ridiculous for Mr. Roosevelt to dream of building 50,000 planes a year.

In 1941 they said the OPA couldn't hold down prices, and free-born Americans would never stand for such regimentation anyway.

And now they say we can't have full employment. The same unreconstructed wise boys—only a little grayer.

Well, we'll see.

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U. S. S. R.—the Early Days

BUILDING LENIN'S RUSSIA. By Simon Liberman. University of Chicago Press. \$3.

DESPITE its forbidding title, this is a fascinating, important book. It is at once a personal memoir, an inside story of eight critical years of Soviet life, and an evaluation of Russia today. All three are closely woven into a narrative of restraint and charm, full of new episodes and anecdotes, fair in its judgment of men and events, and often spiced with shrewd humor.

Simon Liberman traveled far from his boyhood on a Ukrainian farm to self-imposed exile in Paris and New York. He took part as a Menshevik in the revolution of 1905; when that failed, he became a successful business man, managing the vast timber estates of several noble families. During the March revolution he offered his services to Kerensky. In 1918 Lenin invited him to work with the Soviet government as an economic *spetz*. He managed the Soviet lumber industry, helped form the first government trust, and played an important role in shaping the New Economic Policy. He had Lenin's confidence and support, but many Communists suspected his Menshevik and business background, and the Cheka was frequently on his trail. Formally accused by the secret state police of favoring capitalists, he was finally exonerated, but he never felt free from oppressive suspicion and investigation. On completing a mission in Denmark, he severed his connections with the Soviet government, and decided not to return to Russia. He remained in Paris until 1938, then came to the United States, where he now lives.

It would have been easy to over-dramatize this story and to climax it with shallow denunciations. Instead, Mr. Liberman subordinates his personal experience in a modest attempt to understand it and through it to understand Russia yesterday and today. The result is a fresh picture of the years in which the U. S. S. R. built the foundations of its present economic system and first began its business dealings with Western Europe and America. The eyewitness account is focused on a single industry, but in his search for significance the author evokes the general from the particular. Whatever one may think of his interpretations, his facts shed light on such questions as war communism, N. E. P., party and government, foreign recognition, dictatorship, the trials, and the power of personality in history. Everything is telescoped, but the range is wide, from Lenin's crackpot schemes to Lenin's genius and the conflicting fateful roles of Stalin, Trotsky, Rykov, and Djerdjinsky. Some biographical details have never been told before.

The author has his prejudices; he is partial to his chief, Krassin, and hard on Krassin's antagonist, Litvinov. But since he is aware of these prejudices at every point, his narrative has a refreshing detachment. This balance springs from a temper which from the beginning tried to find an equilibrium between what ought to be and what is. Mr. Liberman is loyal to the humane principles of Menshevism, respectful toward the power of Bolshevism, profoundly patriotic about Russia. These attitudes form the basis of his continual reflection on the sequence of conflict and development. His rich, original memoir concludes with an

analysis of current problems. He acknowledges the harshness of the Soviet regime but defends it for its gigantic achievements, which have transformed a country and a people and defended them victoriously against the greatest invasion in their history. Mr. Liberman is also cautiously optimistic about the future. He believes there need be no conflict between Russia and other countries, above all between Russia and the United States, and that with the defeat of fascism and the elimination of the military danger, Russia is bound to move toward democracy.

JOSEPH FREEMAN

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Ordeal of Spain

ONLY IN SPAIN was the world conflict, whose first major phase has lately ended so inconclusively, sharply defined. After that it was muddled and reduced in significance as it spread in area, corrupted by the limiting self-interest of some of democracy's most ardent defenders. But in the Spanish struggle the moral as well as the political issues were still clear and absolute, unmistakable as the Guadarrama Mountains themselves. The epic story of the Spanish civil war has not yet been told. Meanwhile there have been many books, which is not the same thing.

The facts and feeling are all there in "Smouldering Freedom" (Longmans, Green, \$2.50), but the eloquence and shaping hand are lacking. The author, Isabel de Palencia, was the Republican minister plenipotentiary to Sweden and Finland; she is a woman of exceptional endowments and accomplishment. Her book is largely raw material, much of it extremely interesting. There is a brief, lucid account of the civil war, its background and chief protagonists, and of subsequent political developments among the Spanish Republicans in exile. Of special interest are the simple, homely accounts of people Mme de Palencia knows—or knew, for many have been killed. There are also the terribly moving last letters of executed Republicans, which have a typically Spanish dignity, humanity, and lack of heroics. One of these is dated November 9, 1944. It, and indeed the whole of "Smouldering Freedom," is a heart-breaking reminder that the terror which preceded the world holocaust has not abated with it.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

Escape Story

FROM GERMANY, SPAIN, ITALY, then Austria and Czechoslovakia, thousands of anti-fascist refugees flocked to France in the years between 1933 and the outbreak of the war; with the abrupt end of the war's first phase and the surrender of France they converged on Marseilles in a last desperate attempt to escape the Gestapo again through emigration. When Varian Fry arrived in Marseilles in the summer of 1940 as the representative of the Emergency Rescue Committee of New York, southern France was in a state of chaos, with the Gestapo almost as disorganized as the refugees themselves, and the French police more frequently bewildered than brutal.

In this atmosphere of utter confusion Mr. Fry set up the

effective apparatus which in hardly more than a year was to send about a thousand refugees out of France to safety. He gives an account of his activities in "Surrender on Demand" (Random House, \$3). Mr. Fry had arrived in Europe with lists of the political and intellectual refugees who most urgently needed help, and whom his committee most wished to aid. Among those he helped to escape were the late Franz Werfel, Heinrich Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, and outstanding labor leaders of many nationalities. A number of the refugees whose names appeared on his lists were already equipped with American or other visas, but rarely with the necessary papers for travel to Lisbon. Others needed, besides financing, French exit permits, Spanish and Portuguese transit visas, and visas of permanent entry to some country of refuge. These papers were sometimes procured legally, more often not. Before Mr. Fry was finally forced to leave France, he had become an expert in by-passing regulations, cutting red tape, and outwitting both the bureaucrats and the police. Through necessity rather than through choice he found himself living a life of intrigue, in which all the appurtenances of melodrama—from the false passport, the disguise, and the concealed microphone to the chase and the gratifying frequent escape—figured daily.

Mr. Fry's book is frankly a personal history, and as such touches only lightly on the general picture of American activity in behalf of political refugees at that time. Nevertheless, his story is an absorbing chronicle of fascinating adventure, unstinting effort, and a large measure of success.

SHEBA STRUNSKY

Black and White

ALTHOUGH SOME AMERICANS are growing up today in their attitudes toward the Negro problem, the vast majority continue to exhibit their immaturity not only in their attitudes but even in the matter of elementary knowledge about their darker fellow-citizens. It is for this latter group that Bucklin Moon has assembled in a single volume, "Primer for White Folks" (Doubleday, Doran, \$3.50), a variety of documents, historical and sociological essays, sketches, and short stories dealing with Negro-white relations. Despite its title, however, this is no book for the simple-minded. Not only do the essays contain sound factual knowledge and the mature reflections of scholars and students of the problem, but the fiction represents sophisticated attitudes and subtle insights.

In Part I, Heritage, the selection by W. E. B. DuBois of material on African culture and the discussion of the Negro problem as a case history by Carey McWilliams are of outstanding value. Black and White Mores are presented in Part II in a number of selections from the works of well-known writers of American fiction. Wendell Willkie's article on Citizens of Negro Blood, which appeared in *Collier's*, opens the third part, Today and Tomorrow. The selections here cover practically every phase of the Negro problem from the integration of Negroes into American economic life to the Detroit riots and American discrimination against Negro soldiers in England. The editor, a Southerner, who is well known for his sincere desire to see the Negro inte-

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FANNY BUTCHER: "One of the best of all of the novels about Nazi Germany, it is more than the story of one 'good' German who became a Nazi . . . No purely factual record could give the reader such a sense of subtly spreading moral corruption in the mind and heart of a once decent man as does this fictional picture of Erich Landt . . . *Sowing The Wind* is almost uncannily timely in its picture of the psychology of a people as well as of an individual."

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Martha Dodd

who had exceptional opportunity to observe the rise of Nazism from the vantage point of the American Embassy in Berlin, proves dramatically that what happened to the people in Germany can happen to anyone in any country. *Sowing The Wind* probes the heart of a nation whose men and women are now, and will be for some time, on trial before the world.

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SQUARE

grated into 'American life, has rendered a real service in bringing together in readable form a collection containing fundamental information on so many facets of Negro-white relations.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Incredible Shanghai

THE LIBERATION OF SHANGHAI after nearly four years of Japanese rule may restore that city to its traditional place as one of the great cosmopolitan trading centers of the world. But the old Shanghai, capital of the white man's imperialism in the Far East, will never return. The story of this old Shanghai with all its bizarre characteristics and of its passing under the impact of Japanese aggression is brilliantly told by Edna Lee Booker and her husband, John S. Potter, in "Flight from China" (Macmillan, \$2.50). No one has ever described the exotic atmosphere of Shanghai in the 1920's more vividly or more accurately than Miss Booker; her husband contributes a significant section on Japanese policies in Shanghai after Pearl Harbor and on his experiences in a Japanese concentration camp. It is not a sensational book; neither of the authors went through or witnessed any of the cruelties which others have suffered. Nor does it contribute to an understanding of Chinese politics or culture. The China one sees is that of the treaty ports, which are more Western than Chinese. Yet as one who knew old Shanghai, its colors, smells, and glaring social inequities, I found it an intensely human, absorbing book. Those who have never lived in China may get a false impression of the Chinese people, particularly from the constant use of pidgin English, but they can hardly fail to be delighted by Miss Booker's charming account of an incredible city that is truly the crossroads of the world.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

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Films

JAMES
AGEE

THE following are more or less recommended:

"The True Glory." Official war film, invasion of Normandy to German surrender. Bold, welcome, but inadequate use of blank verse; much more successful use of many bits of individualized vernacular narration, unusually free of falseness. Very jab-paced, energetic cutting; intelligent selection of shots, of which several hundred—so it seems—are magnificent. Lacks the greatness of the best short war films, but for the hugely complicated kind of job it is, it could hardly have been done better, on a fact-telling plane anyhow.

"Pride of the Marines." A true story of a blinded Marine. Very good performances by John Garfield and Dane Clark. An exciting combat sequence, unusually persuasive of authenticity, at least to this layman. Considerable liberalizing about racial and post-war problems, most of it a pleasure to hear, some of it rather mouthily over-optimistic (don't crab—if we fight for our rights and needs we're sure to have nothing to crab about). Long drawn out and never inspired, but very respectably honest and dogged, thanks considerably, it appears, to Albert Maltz's screen play.

"Isle of the Dead." Val Lewton-Mark Robson horror film, with Karloff, Katherine Emery, Helene Thimig especially effective. Tedious, overloaded, diffuse, and at moments arty, yet in many ways to be respected, up to its last half-hour or so; then it becomes as brutally frightening and gratifying a horror movie as I can remember. (More self-contained, and more pleasingly toned and told, is Lewton's recent "Body Snatchers," with Karloff, Lugosi, Henry Daniell. It too, for all its charm and talent, is a little dull and bookish; but it explodes into an even finer, and a far more poetic, horror-climax—which, however, is sustained for only the last few minutes.)

"State Fair." Rodgers and Hammerstein adaptation of the Phil Stong novel; nice performances by Jeanne Crain, Dana Andrews, Henry Morgan; pretty tunes, graceful lyrics. Otherwise lacking any real delicateness, vitality, or imagination, and painfully air-conditioned-looking, for a bucolic film; it is nevertheless good-natured and pleasant.

"Our Vines Have Tender Grapes." Life on a Wisconsin farm with Mar-

garet O'Brien, Edward G. Robinson, Agnes Moorhead, who perform exceedingly well. Here too a lack both of rural redolence and of fresh air; in stretches almost as indigestible as its title. But some of the wilful leisureliness comes properly to life, and several scenes and many details are as gracious and touching as the intention of the whole film.

"Love Letters." A story so inconceivably factitious that only a poet-moralist or a romancer of genius could have been wisely attracted by it, or could have brought it above the sill of absurdity. But Lee Garmes's lighting and photography are wonderful, in a romantic way I do not personally care for; and his—or William Dieterle's—camera set-ups and shot-series and Dieterle's directing are like a highly skilled piece of wrestling. Most of the acting, especially that of Ann Richards (in a rather easy role), has unusual intensity and style.

Considerably less commendable is "Her Highness and the Bell-Boy," a would-be Modern Fairy Story told with incredible heaviness and made only sporadically enjoyable through the friendliness of Robert Walker and Rags Ragland, the beauty of Hedy Lamarr, the sincerity of June Allyson.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

ON VICTOR'S September list are Brahms's Symphony No. 3, performed by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony (Set 1007; \$4.50); Schönberg's "Verklärte Nacht" for string orchestra, performed by Golschmann with the St. Louis Symphony (Set 1005; \$4.50); a sequence of passages from Strauss's "Rosenkavalier," performed by Goossens with the Cincinnati Symphony (Set 997; \$3.50); and *Airs de Ballet* from Grétry's "Céphale et Procris," performed by Defauw with the Chicago Symphony (11-8825; \$1).

The group is interesting for what it reveals about American orchestras. Cities like St. Louis and Cincinnati have no trouble in finding the players for excellent string sections; but—judging from the Cincinnati performance—equally good players for the woodwinds are not available. Chicago, however, can provide its orchestra with woodwinds as fine as the strings; and one hears the playing of a great orchestra. But then one listens to Boston's orchestra, and hears strings, brass, woodwinds, and re-

finements of execution and sonority that carry one into the realm of the fabulous.

The group also is interesting for what it demonstrates about Victor's recording of orchestras. One hears those fabulous things in the Boston performance of Brahms's symphony because they are reproduced by the recording as I cannot recall their having been done before. This time Victor's engineers managed to prevent the noisy confusion from excessive reverberation and the slight coarseness of the other recently made Boston Symphony recordings; and in the quiet the sound is cleanly defined and retains its real-life refinement. Played with a Brush pick-up, the recording is well balanced; with an Astatic Tru-tan it sounds limited in the upper frequency-range.

The Chicago Symphony recording is even better than the ones Victor made with that orchestra three years ago: the hall is reverberant, but the sound now is marvelously clear and clean and bright. The Cincinnati Symphony performance is beautifully reproduced except at a few points where excessive reverberation creates noisy confusion. And the St. Louis Symphony performance also is excellently recorded—even to the occasional thickness and heaviness of the sound produced by Schönberg's writing for strings or by Golschmann's performance of this writing.

I like the second and fourth movements of Brahms's symphony; but I don't like them with the sentimentalities and overemphases imparted to them by Koussevitzky's tempos and changes of tempo. I might acquire the Victor set to have a good reproduction of the fabulous playing of the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky's direction; but if I wanted a good performance of Brahms's symphony I would take Weingartner's in Columbia Set 353.

The music from Grétry's "Céphale et Procris" is charming and well-performed. Schönberg's "Verklärte Nacht," best listened to with Tudor's "Pillar of Fire" to distract one during its interminable length, also is well-performed. And so is the pointless collection of the few scraps of orchestral luxuriance and sugary melody from Strauss's "Rosenkavalier."

Also on Victor's September list is Beethoven's Sonata Opus 30 No. 2 for violin and piano played by Yehudi and Hephzibah Menuhin (Set 1008; \$4.50). Nos. 1 and 3 of Opus 30 are among the best of Beethoven's early works; but the dramatic first movement of No. 2 is, for me, one of those in

which, as my correspondent expressed it a couple of weeks ago, Beethoven "is trying to create a mood which has no actual occasion or objective correlative in the music itself"; and the rest of the work seems weak. The performance is good: as always, Hephzibah's playing has the musical style and life that her brother's has not; and though his tone is over-sweet he plays simply except for a few tearful phrases in the slow movement. The recording, which must have been made several years ago, is good, but must be played with the volume turned up higher than usual.

CONTRIBUTORS

STUART CHASE is a well-known economist and writer. His latest books are "Where's the Money Coming From?" and "Democracy Under Pressure."

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Next Week in The Nation
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Instructive and Disquieting

Dear Sirs: I found Mr. Padover's article in *The Nation* of September 22 very instructive and trebly disquieting: (1) because of the evidence he gives of slavishness in German labor, (2) because of his charge that our officials are neglecting German labor in their efforts to create a democratic Germany, and (3) because so good a democrat as the editor of "The Complete Jefferson" would apparently neglect, instead, the farmer—shades of Thomas Jefferson!—and all other elements in Germany except labor.

Democracy to me is a government built on no one class or section of the community but equally on all members of the community, to safeguard impartially the individual liberty of each person, each minority of one. Mr. Padover rules out the "upper strata"—and by implication the middle class—as "opportunists" who "supported Hitler because he was successful" and "are collaborating with us because we are victorious." His evidence convicts labor of all this, too, but his conclusion rules labor in.

He convicts Germans in general and German labor in particular of tending blindly to follow the leader. Judging from the case he makes, I would conclude that the best way to create democracy in Germany would be to make the most of whatever truly democratic leadership asserted itself, regardless of whether it rose from the factory or the farm, the middle or the upper class. From this last group, after all, came Thomas Jefferson and other founders of our own individualist democracy.

CLARENCE K. STREET

Washington, D. C., September 17

A Fully Paid Labor Reserve

Dear Sirs: I. F. Stone calls attention in *The Nation* of August 11 to the fact that Mark Sullivan has come out for "full employment." That appears to line him up with many liberals and others throughout the country. In labor circles there is a real desire for full employment; but in other circles the words denote only as much employment as can conveniently be attained within our present free-enterprise system. They imply a larger or smaller body of unemployed whom industry cannot absorb no matter how great the volume of produc-

tion. The hope is that if production can be increased to the limit and held there, then unemployment can be reduced so low that it can be neglected. In other words, "full employment" does not really mean full employment.

The unemployed, as distinguished from loafers and the merely idle, are those able and willing to work and anxious to support themselves. Persons who are actually working for pay and also those who are paid to assume a responsibility to work should be considered employed. Shop foremen are not always at work, but they have a responsibility and are employed. City firemen are not always at work, but surely they are employed. Architects and lawyers are sometimes paid a retainer to hold themselves in readiness for work. Is it unthinkable that labor should be treated in the same way?

I propose a "fully paid labor reserve" to include all the unemployed, that is, those able to work and anxious for a job. Such a fully paid labor reserve added to those already having jobs would cover the whole labor supply and would constitute a continuous maximum demand for consumer goods, a steady market on which industry could depend—in other words, real full employment.

The reserve might be a revolving pool; while at first it might be thought that the pool should be as small as possible in order to get maximum production, efficiency of production might eventually be sufficiently high for the pool to be larger. The labor reserve should be paid by the federal government from the proceeds of a personal income tax, which should be a flat tax, not graded. Enrolment in the reserve should be entirely voluntary. An applicant would state his preferred trade or occupation together with alternatives, and might be asked to attend training courses.

A fully paid labor reserve would offer many advantages to both labor and industry. Workers would no longer be subject to outside competition, and as there would be no fear of a lay-off, soldiering on the job would stop, resulting in quicker deliveries and lower costs for industry. Industry would have a pool of ready and efficient workers with which to expand and start new undertakings.

HENRY V. D. ALLEN

Schenectady, N. Y., August 16

Nominating Mr. Welles

Dear Sirs: In the formation of the United Nations Charter and in discussions concerning its implementation, no suggestions have been made regarding possible candidates for the post of Secretary-General. Not only will the Secretary-General be responsible, as an administrator, for directing the machinery of the newly created organization, but as a statesman he will have the power to "bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion might threaten international peace and security."

Thus the Secretary-General has important discretionary power. The League members elected to this post individuals who were administrators and unwilling to assume greater responsibilities on their own initiative than the Covenant permitted. In fact, they did not even speak before the Assembly meetings—a right accorded them in the Rules of Procedure of that body. The delegates were thus denied an interpretation of international trends and possibilities of action which a keen Secretary-General, as top official of the world organization, could so ably have given them.

We cannot again afford to elect an individual who is solely an administrator, for the Charter expressly empowers the Secretary-General with functions of a political nature. A wise and able statesman, as well as a capable administrator, is needed for the task. I therefore suggest the election of Sumner Welles. As ambassador, as Under Secretary of State, and as special emissary of the late President Roosevelt he has on numerous occasions demonstrated his abilities. Moreover, the continued growth and development of the Pan-American Union can be attributed largely to his efforts.

Mr. Welles is known and respected by the leaders of many nations. The public has on many occasions manifested its liking for and trust in him. When he was forced to resign as Under Secretary of State it voiced strong disapproval; his book, "The Time for Decision," and his syndicated newspaper column are read avidly by millions of people.

The keen insight into international affairs, the ability to analyze present problems, and the faculty to foresee future events that characterize Mr. Welles are prime requisites for any Secretary-General if he is adequately to fulfil the political functions assigned him in the Charter. ALVIN B. GLAZER

Tacoma Park, Md., September 10

Louis Boudin Impenitent

Dear Sirs: Because of articles I recently published in the *ORT Economic Review*, Mr. Albert Guérard called upon me, in your August 4 issue, to apologize to the shade of Clemenceau for attacking the Versailles treaty. I do not feel apologetic at all. Speaking of Lord Vansittart's recent book, which put him in a penitent mood, Mr. Guérard said:

It is the hardest thing in the world to confess an error . . . "Liberals"—Harry Elmer Barnes for twenty years, Harry Emerson Fosdick in 1939, Louis M. Boudin as late as 1945—attacked Versailles and the French policy in terms which had a Hitlerian ring: they have not apologized yet to the shade of Clemenceau, and probably they never will. Well, I too hate to acknowledge a mistake. But, to my infinite embarrassment, I found that I agreed with Lord Vansittart.

As to the "Hitlerian ring" of criticism of the Versailles treaty, long before the world at large was aware of Hitler's existence, the Versailles treaty was denounced by one Nicolai Lenin, whose criticism was substantially in the same "terms" and had the same "ring" as that subsequently voiced by Hitler—as Mr. Guérard will find if he takes the trouble to read Lenin's speeches between 1919 and 1922.

Actually my criticism was never in the "terms" nor had it the "ring" of either Lenin's or Hitler's criticism. And it was entirely different from that of Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, whose position was that World War I was caused by "capitalism" as such, and that all capitalist nations were therefore equally guilty. My position, as stated in a book which I wrote during the war, was that "capitalism" is a historical phenomenon whose character with respect to peace and war has undergone a number of changes; that it had its peaceful periods as well as its bellicose ones. I was of the opinion, and still am, that capital-

ism was then in one of its warlike moods, and that Germany was the spearhead of this particular warlike phase of capitalism. It was, in my opinion, a serious mistake to assert that Germany was no more guilty than any other capitalist country. But it was an even greater mistake to put the entire blame on Germany—since that would of necessity lead us to the wrong kind of peace.

When "peace" came, I did object to the Versailles treaty. But not, as Dr. Barnes did, on the ground that it was unjust. As a student of history I know that one man's justice is another man's injustice. Like John Maynard Keynes, I was of the opinion that the principal vice of the Versailles treaty was its *stupidity*, since it could not be enforced and would of necessity become a source of mischief. Stupidity in such matters is a far greater crime than injustice: God in his mercy may forgive injustice. History never forgives stupidity.

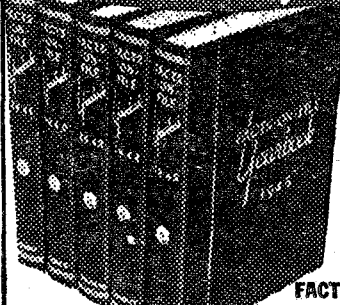
But my criticism went farther than that of John Maynard Keynes. For the greatest stupidity of the Versailles treaty was not in any of its specific provisions, but in its failure to provide effectively for a lasting peace by setting up a real world organization.

I agree with Mr. Guérard that liberals should now feel in a penitent and apologetic mood. But their apologies are not due to Clemenceau or Vansittart but to those of us, including Lenin, who based their criticism of the Versailles treaty on the fact that it treated the symptom—Germany's eruption—instead of the disease. But I do not expect such apologies. From all appearances, liberals are again going to argue about the justice or injustice of this or that mode of treating Germany—utterly oblivious of the fact that it is the world that needs treatment. Germany may be the sickest of all, but she is not the only patient requiring attention. And quackery will do no more good now than it did at Versailles.

L. B. BOUDIN

New York, August 15

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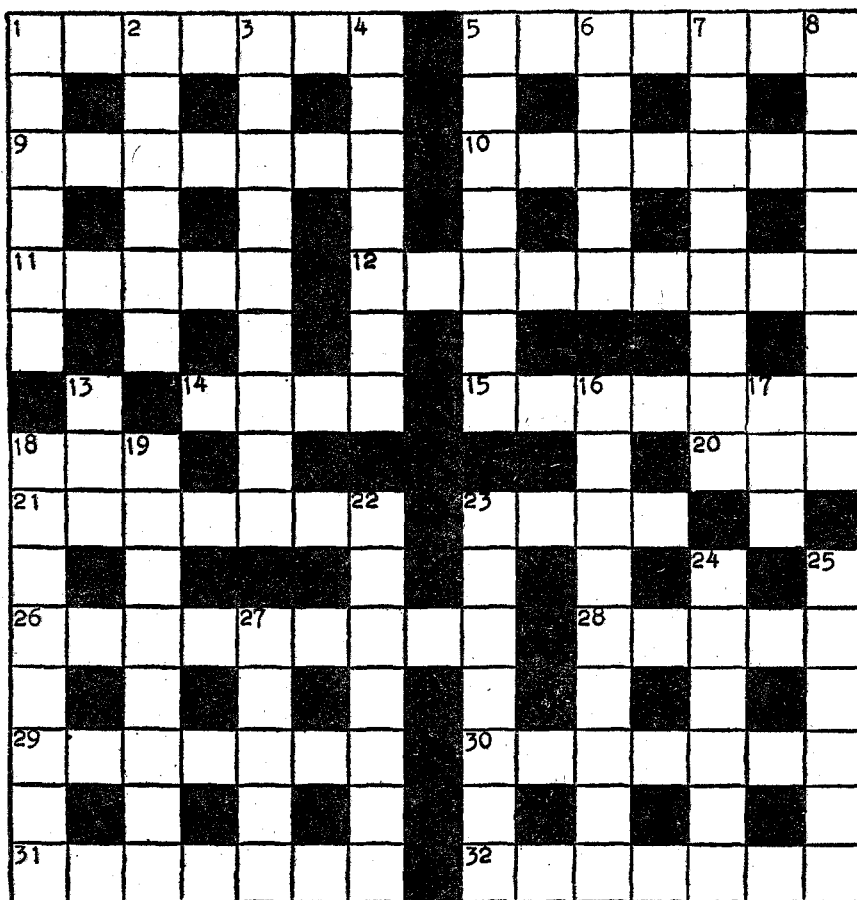
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Crossword Puzzle No. 128

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Inseparable companions
- 5 Walpole and White both were
- 9 Acquit
- 10 Pup, alas, disorderly in a Swedish university
- 11 Sounds like a big gun in church circles
- 12 To have a suspicion (three words, 5, 1, 3)
- 14 A beastly king
- 15 Fiery thatch of the hothead? (two words, 3 and 4)
- 18 Diamonds, in underworld terminology
- 20 The Frenchman's "no"
- 21 The field or the shelter may be his place in war
- 23 It is marked out
- 26 Oliver Twist ran away from one
- 28 If you want to raise the dough, try this
- 29 Of little importance
- 30 Famous falls
- 31 Superlatively strong-scented
- 32 Leaf out of a book by Lamb in his later years

DOWN

- 1 A sporting attitude
- 2 Silence usually spells this
- 3 Not as broad as it is long
- 4 It's quite a hat
- 5 Arrogance
- 6 Repulse
- 7 After telling us the chief speaker needs no introduction, he introduces us to the chief speaker

- 8 Untidy woman
- 13 No can do (hidden)
- 16 This is the place to get your milk, butter and eggs (two words, 5 & 4)
- 17 A sort of credit note
- 18 Mr. Porter discloses his identity and business
- 19 Skin trouble which comes with much smoking
- 22 A tract that may not attract
- 23 She offered Fair Rosamond the choice of a dagger or a cup of poison
- 24 A word in Mexico for postponing the evil day
- 25 To machine-gun from the air
- 27 She kept her sisters on a leash, in *Arabian Nights*

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 127

ACROSS:—1 PLEASANT; 5 ISOBAR; 10 STIRRUP; 11 LESIONS; 12 OLIVER; 14 PEARMAIN; 16 AUGUSTA; 17 TERNS; 18 HESS; 20 THE LIAR; 22 ROAD; 24 SAHIB; 26 GROUSER; 29 SPIKES IT; 30 SANDAL; 32 ENTITLE; 33 INVITES; 34 TEAZLE; 35 PRESERVE.

DOWN:—1 PISTOL; 2 EDIFICE; 3 SERGEANT; 4 NAPE; 6 SISERA; 7 BROCADE; 8 RASHNESS; 9 CLUES; 13 RUSHERS; 14 PULL OUT; 15 ATLASES; 19 PROSPECT; 21 RARA AVIS; 23 ARIETTA; 25 INDITER; 26 GENTIL; 27 OILED; 28 ELYSEE; 31 BIER.

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